

**S T U D I A
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CRACOVIENSIA**

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Aleksandr E. ANIKIN (Novosibirsk)

**EINIGE ANMERKUNGEN
ZU DEN URTSCHUKTSCHISCH-KAMTSCHADALISCHEN
REKONSTRUKTEN VON O. A. MUDRAK
(MIT BEZUG AUF RUSSISCHE DATEN)***

Die Notwendigkeit, bei der etymologischen Erarbeitung des uralischen, altaischen und paläoasiatischen Wortschatzes russische Sprachangaben zu berücksichtigen, kam mehrmals in den Arbeiten von J. Kalima, M. Räsänen, W. Steinitz, K. Menges, A. Joki, J. Janhunen, E. A. Helinski, M. Stachowski u.a. zum Ausdruck. Diese Daten bewahren ihre Bedeutung auch für den neuesten Rekonstruktionsversuch einer einheimischen Sprache Sibiriens, wie er im *Этимологический словарь чукотско-камчатских языков* von O. A. Mudrak (im weiteren: Mudr.) vorliegt. Dieses Wörterbuch, das vom Verfasser selbst als erster Etymologisierungversuch der tschuktschisch-kamtschadalischen Wortstämme (Mudr. 3) charakterisiert ist, kann auch als ein ernstzunehmender Versuch angesehen werden, die genetische Urverwandtschaft der tschuktschischen und der kamtschadalischen Sprachfamilie nachzuweisen. Dabei umfaßt die erstere, auch tschuktschisch-korjakisch genannt, folgende Sprachen: Tschuktschisch, Korjakisch, Kerekisch, Palanisch (welches von O. A. Mudrak nicht für einen korjakischen Dialekt, sondern für eine getrennte Sprache gehalten wird) und Aljutorisch. Die "kamtschadalische" Sprachfamilie wird hauptsächlich durch das bis heute erhalten gebliebene Itelmenisch (Westkamtschadalisch) vertreten. Die weiter unten vorkommende Abkürzung "kamtsch." bezieht sich auf kamtschadalische Sprachmaterialien des 18.-19. Jh.

Eine Anzahl von tschuktschischen, korjakischen und itelmenischen Wörtern, die von O. A. Mudrak in seinen Rekonstruktionen angeführt werden, können mit vergleichbarem Wahrscheinlichkeitsgrad für Lehnwörter aus der Sprache der russischen Ankömmlinge im weitesten Nordostasien bzw. den Dialekten des Russischen (wie der Kolyma-Anadyr- und der Kamtschatka-Dialekt), die sich im Laufe des 18. und in den Anfängen des 19. Jh. herausgebildet haben,

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gehalten werden. Es handelt sich dabei um einzelne Lexeme, deren etymologische Uminterpretation den wissenschaftlichen Wert von Mudraks Arbeit nicht schmälert, sondern nur zur weiteren Überlegung mancher Deutungen anspornen kann.

1.

Anhand von palan. *matńawwe* Pl. ‘Balken’ (Žuk. 259) wird urtschuktsch.-korjak. **matńjna-* id. rekonstruiert, welches seinerseits zusammen mit urkamtsch. **mawtanę-ŋ* (> itelm. *mawtanęŋ*) ‘Bau’ die Rekonstruktion von urtschuktsch.-kamtsch. **mavtńV-* ‘Bau; Balken’ (Mudr. 90) möglich macht. Die Form **matńjna-* kann jedoch vor Kritik schlecht bestehen. Palan. *matńawwe* stammt sicher aus sibirisch-russ. *матня́* ‘Träger, Balken der Zimmerdecke’ (SRNG 18: 33), welches – ganz wie russ. *мáтица* id. – mit russ. *мать* ‘Mutter’ zusammengehört.

Auf russ. *матня́* gehen ebenfalls burj. dial. *матняа, митнаа, матняаг* id. (Bud. 57, 196, 208, 227) zurück. Hierzuzustellen ist auch itelm. *мáтницаъ* (Stark. 159) < sibirisch-russ. *мáтница* id. (SRNG 18: 33) < russ. *матня́*. Auf russ. *мáтница* ist auch burj. *маатинса* id. (BRS 289) zurückzuführen.

Das soll genügend sein, um die von O. A. Mudrak rekonstruierte urtschuktsch.-kamtsch. Form **mavtńV-* abzulehnen.

2.

Urtschuktsch.-korjak. **poloqa* ‘Zelt’ wird in Mudr. 195 als Wortstamm ohne kamtsch. Etymologie angeführt. In Wirklichkeit, haben wir es hier mit einem fremden, keinem urtschuktsch.-kamtsch. Wort zu tun. Die Materialgrundlage der Rekonstruktion bilden korjak. und palan. *poloq(a)* id., die aber eindeutig auf russ. *пóлог* ‘Fenster-, Tür- oder Bettvorhang’ (Dal’ 3: 256), sibirisch ‘selbstgemachtes Zelt, in dem im Sommer auf dem Feld oder im Garten geschlafen wird’ u.ä. (SRNG 29: 96) < *по-лог* zurückgehen, vgl. *лежáть*.

Russ. Herkunft sind ebenfalls ket. *фэлак, хэл'ак* id. (Vern. 191), nordjakut. *буолах* ‘Bettvorhang’ u.a. (DSJaJa 71), kolymajukag. (V. Jochelson) *полог*, modernes *поолох* id. (Nik. 261), tundrajukag. *пуолэк* (JuRS 240). Hierzu gehört auch itelm. *пóлок* id. (Stark. 160), welches natürlich kein “kamtschadalisches Pendant” des angeblichen urtschuktsch.-kamtsch. **poloqa* ist.

3.

Urtshuktsch.-korjak. **paciŋ-at-* ‘danken, sich bedanken (haupts. bei Geistern)’ stützt sich auf tshuktsch. *paciŋét-* ‘vor Gespenstern Angst haben’ und palan. *nauevam-* ‘danken’ (in Mudr. 192: *pasevat-*, was vermutlich ein Druckfehler für *paševat-* ist). Die genetische Verwandtschaft dieser Wörter erscheint jedoch schon aus semantischen Gründen äußerst unsicher.

Das palan. Wort erinnert dabei zu sehr an russ. *спасибо* ‘danke’, als daß man hierfür nach einer altentümlichen Etymologie suchen muß. Das Verb *nauevam-* wurde nach einem produktiven Wortbildmodell von *naueva* ‘danke’ (< russ. *спасибо* id.) mittels des Suffixes *-am ~ -em* gebildet, wie *милэт-* ‘einseifen’ zu *милэ* < russ. *мыло* ‘Seife’ u.ä. (Žuk. 80). Russ. *спасибо* (< **съпаси Бог*) ist generell in den Sprachen Sibiriens sehr breit vertreten (An. 1998: 73-74).

4.

Tshuktsch. *cilimuq* ‘Strychnin, Giftstoff gegen Pelztier’ und korjak. *cilimuk* id. können unmöglich als Grundlage für die Rekonstruktion eines urtshuktsch.-korjak. **cilimuk* ‘Gift’ aufgefaßt werden, wobei **-muk-* angeblich mit urtshuktsch.-korjak. **muke* ‘Verfaultes, Schwefel, Gift’, und **cili-* mit urkamtsch. **č(‘)ili-* ‘naschen’ (Mudr. 96, 142) identisch sein sollten. Indessen sind das tshuktsch. und das kamtsch. Wort ohne Zweifel mit einem in den sibirisch-russ. Dialekten weit verbreiteten Wanderwort zu verbinden, das hauptsächlich als Name für die Pflanze *Strychnos nux vomica*, aber auch für das daraus verfertigte Gift, d.h. Strychnin gebraucht wird – sibirisch-russ. *чилибуха*, vgl. altruss. (Pskov, 1607) *tsilibuga* ‘Strychnin’ (Fenn. 87), Ural-russ. *кучелёба* id., sibirisch-russ. Pflanzennamen auch: *кучеляба*, *кольчи́ба*, *чичилибуха*, *целибу́ха* u.a.; all diese Wörter sind türkischen Ursprungs (An. 2000: 339). Die unmittelbare Lehnquelle war das russ. (Kolyma-Anadyrregion) Wort *чили́бух(а)*, mit dem sekundären *-m-* auf tshuktsch. bzw. korjak. Sprachboden. Nicht ganz auszuschließen ist auch eine russ. Variante wie **чили́мұх(а)*. Eine jüngere Entlehnung des russ. *стрихнин* liegt dagegen in ewenk. dial. (Ostdialekte) *иста-ракачйи* ‘Strychnin’ vor (DSĖJa 69; unklar ist das *-ч-*, ob Druckfehler für *-н-*?).

5.

Südkamtsch. (B. Dybowski) *kika* ‘tepide’ leitet sich zusammen mit itelm. *xka-lah* ‘heiß, brennend’ von urkamtsch. **xka-* id. ab (Mudr. 31). Es wäre je-

Das urkamtsch. **xka-* wurde zwar mit aljutor. *əkəká-* ‘heiß’ < ? urtschuktsch.-korjak. **əkəke-* (Mudr. 31) zusammengestellt; das aljutor. Wort kann jedoch auch auf eine letzten Endes tung. Quelle zurückgeführt werden. Aber auch eine zufällige Ähnlichkeit von zwei deskriptiven Wörtern ist nicht auszuschließen, wie zum Beispiel im Fall von itelm. *əңеңеңе ~ иңиңиңи* (s.o.) und Kazym-ostjak. *аңаңа* ‘ai! (Ausruf beim Schmerz)’ sowie ewen. *энэ* ‘es tut weh!’ (An. 2000: 714).

Die Herleitung des westkamtsch. *kukul* ‘cucullus’ aus einem urkamtsch. **kök’öl-* (Mudr. 69) erscheint äußerst unsicher, sobald man das kamtsch. Wort mit Kolyma-russ. *кокуль* ‘Kapuze’ (Bog. 68) zusammengestellt hat, vgl. auch nordruss. *кѹколь* ~ *кѹколь* id. (SRNG 16: 42). Völlig möglich wäre auch ein sibirisch-russ. **кѹкѹль*. Zu verbinden sind die Wörter auch mit russ. (18. Jh.) *кѹ-кѹль* ‘Kapuze’ (SIRJa 12: 70), altruss. *куколь* id. (< lat. *cucullus*, -a; der Anklang des lat. Wortes an kamtsch. *kukul* mag nicht ganz zufällig sein) sowie mit nordruss. *кѹкѣль* ‘als Mückenschutz gebrauchtes Stück Tuch’ < ostseefi. (An. 2000: 314); zum Letzteren vgl. Kolyma-jakut. *kukūl* ‘Art Pelzmantel mit Kapuze’ (DSJaS 314), nenZT *хуколь* ‘Rentierledersack mit Pelz nach innen’ (NRS 778) < russ.

In korjak. *канъча*, palan. *канса*, *канша* 'Tabakspfeife' (KRS 582; Žuk. 252) sieht O. A. Mudrak Reflexe eines urtschuktsch.-korjak. **kanca* 'Rauchtabak' (Mudr. 178). In Wirklichkeit haben wir es hier mit relativ jungen Entlehnungen zu tun: < ewen. *қанса* ~ *канһа* (< **kanca*) u.a. < jakut. *gamsa* ~ *гаһса* ~ *xamsa* id. < mo. < chin. (An. 2000: 162). Das in Mudr. fehlende itelm. *kansa* id. (Vol. 122) wurde aus dem Korjak. entlehnt. Es muß auch darauf aufmerksam gemacht werden, daß schon die Rekonstruktion eines urtschuktsch.-kamtsch. Lexems mit der Bedeutung 'Rauchtabak' sehr seltsam aussieht.

8.

Die Herleitung des korjak. *kulte*”-, *kolta*- ‘Sohle’ aus urtschuktsch.-korjak. **kulte*”- id. < urtschuktsch.-kamtsch. **kǔlte* ‘Ferse’ (Mudr. 77) ignoriert semantische Einzelheiten der korjak. Wörter und der dahinter versteckten Realien. Korjak. *култэм* Du., *култев*’ Pl. (Sg. *култэкул*) bedeutet nämlich nicht nur ‘Sohle’, sondern auch ‘Walroßleder; шкура лахтака, сухая шкура морского зверя’ (An. 1988: 114). Würde man O. A. Mudrak folgen, so müßte man das von ihm übersehene tschuktsch. *култэм* ‘Sohle’ dem korjak. *култэм* und urtschuktsch.-korjak. **kulte*”- id. hinzufügen, und dies läßt starke Zweifel aufsteigen, da es vollkommen möglich ist, anhand von tatsächlich belegten Wörtern wie tschuktsch. *kǔlte*-, *qǔlte*-, korjak. *kulte*-, palan. *kulte*”, aljutor. *kulta*- (Mudr. 182) ein urtschuktsch.-korjak. **kulte*”- ‘Haut/Leder eines Seetiers’ anzunehmen.

Urtschuktsch.-korjak. **kulte*”- ‘Sohle’ sollte abgelehnt werden, und die Benennungen für Sohle sollten für Reflexe von **kulte*”- ‘Haut/Leder eines Seetiers’, mit dem Bedeutungswandel: > ‘Sohle’ gehalten werden. Die Tatsache, daß die Aborigenen von Kamtschatka Schuhsohlen aus Walroßleder herstellen, wurde schon von S. P. Krašennikov Mitte des 18. Jh. beobachtet. Dies bestätigen auch spätere Berichte über die Itelmenen (vgl. Stark. 101: “Подошва торбасов выкраивалась из тюленьей шкуры, реже – из медвежьей и из шкур домашних животных”). Eine indirekte Bestätigung der Richtigkeit dieser semantischen Annahme bietet der kamtschatka-russ. Dialekt mit seinem Wort *култы* ~ *кúлды* ‘Lederschuhe mit Schaft aus Rentierbeinleder’, welches aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach aus dem Korjak. entlehnt wurde und einen weiteren Schritt in der semantischen Entwicklung ist: ‘Art Lederschuhe’ < ‘Ledersohle’ < ‘Leder/Haut (eines Walrosses)’ (An. 2000: 318-319).

Offensichtlich wird auch das urtschuktsch.-kamtsch. Rekonstrukt **kǔlte* ‘Ferse’ zu verwerfen sein.

9.

Tschuktsch. korjak. *qeta*, palan. *qeta*” ‘sibirischer Lachs’ wird in Mudr. 198 auf urtschuktsch.-korjak. **qǎta* zurückgeführt. Dabei taucht jedoch die Frage nach dem Verhältnis dieser Wörter zu ewen. *qǎta* ~ *qǎta* ~ *kēta* ~ *k’ǎta* id. u.a.m. (TMS 1: 389) auf. Die urtschuktsch.-korjak. Rekonstruktion muß angesichts der Möglichkeit, die tschuktsch.-korjak. Wörter aus dem Tung.-Ma. zu erklären (vgl. Bur. 22), große Zweifel verursachen. Nicht wegzudenken ist hier auch russ. *kémá* id. < tung. (An. 2000: 285).

10.

Zum Schluß sei gesagt, daß auch manch anderes Wort in seiner von O. A. Mudrak rekonstruierten Form Zweifel erweckt.

Anhand von Materialien von B. Dybowski zitiert O. A. Mudrak zum Beispiel das westkamtsch. Wort *kaslak* ‘otavia stelleri’, das er weiter auf urkamtsch. *[q]aslak < urtschuktsch.-kamtsch. *qelviq ‘Ringelrobbe; russ. *неп-на*’ (Mudr. 116) zurückführt. Es handelt sich dabei vermutlich um *Otaria stelleri* (nicht *Otavia* – und generell gibt es in Mudraks Arbeit ziemlich viele Druckfehler), ein Tier von der Familie *Otariidae* (Brzęk 210). Ungeachtet einer gewissen semantischen Diskrepanz scheint es doch sinnvoll zu sein, auf den Anklang des westkamtsch. Wortes *kaslak* mit sibirisch-russ. *коилák* ‘Junges des sibirischen Bibers oder Fischotters *Enhydra marina*’ (Vasm. 2: 361; Nowik. 2) aufmerksam zu machen. Im Fall der reduzierten Aussprache des Vokals der ersten Silbe, d.h. *коилák* als *каилák*, würde sich die russ. Aussprache mit kamtsch. *kaslak* praktisch decken.

Die von O. A. Mudrak vorgeschlagene Etymologie des itelm. *noxnx*, süd-kamtsch. *puxpu* ‘sacerdos’ < urkamtsch. *pōx” id. (Mudr. 113) läßt das von S. P. Krašeninnikov belegte und dann von A. P. Volodin, der in seinen Überlegungen Krašeninnikov folgte, als ein Reflex des russ. *Бог* ‘Gott’ erklärte kamtsch. *богбог* ‘Geistlicher, Priester’ unberücksichtigt. Interessant ist dabei, daß das russ. Wort bei der Entlehnung redupliziert wird, was sich laut den von Krašeninnikov niedergeschriebenen Erklärungen der Itelmenen dadurch erklärt, daß Geistliche häufig den Gott erwähnen (Vol. 114); aber s. auch weiter unten. Sollte man diese Deutung ablehnen, würde man auf die Frage antworten müssen, welche Geistliche den Sprechern des Urkamtsch. bekannt gewesen sein konnten.

Als ein Pendant des urkamtsch. *pōx” ‘Geistlicher, Priester’ führt O. A. Mudrak urtschuktsch.-korjak. *p[o]w” > korjak. *pow*”, palan. *pow*” ~ *pəw*” id. an und verweist dabei weiter auf Žuk. 16. Diese Wörter fehlen jedoch in Wirklichkeit sowohl in Žuk., als auch in anderen Quellen zum Korjak., so daß sie – und mit ihnen auch das urtschuktsch.-korjak. *p[o]w” – als unzuverlässig abzulehnen sind.

Wie mir A. A. Maļceva freundlicherweise mitteilt, lautet die korjak. Benennung für ‘Geistlicher, Priester’ *ныгныг* (Stebn. 63-64), was ihrer Meinung nach aus einer metaphorischen Bedeutungsübertragung des tschuktsch. korjak. *ныгныг* ‘Schwimmer, Kork (am Fischnetz)’ resultieren kann, da zum Beispiel die Tschuktschen Seehundhaut – glatt, schwarz und rundlich – als Schwimmer gebrauchten. Diese Deutung würde dann das korjak. *ныгныг* ‘Geistlicher, Priester’ vom itelm. *noxnx* ‘sacerdos’ = ? kamtsch. (18. Jh.) *богбог* < ? russ. *Бог* ‘Gott’ trennen. Die Situation wird noch durch westkamtsch. *похпох* ‘Schwim-

mer am Fischnetz' (< urkamtsch. *p^(ʰ)ox", Mudr. 34) komplizierter gemacht, das sich, praktisch gesehen, mit itelm. *noxnx* 'Geistlicher' deckt. Vielleicht ist Krašeninnikovs *Бозбоз* eine Volksetymologie, und das itelm. *poxp* ist durch metaphorischen Gebrauch der Benennung für 'Schwimmer, Kork' (*poxpox*) entstanden, und zwar analog zu korjak. *пыгыгы?* Oder umgekehrt: das ursprüngliche Etymon des itelm. *noxnx* und korjak. *пыгыгы?* war das russ. *Боз?* Wie es dem auch sei, urkamtsch. *pōx" und urtschuktsch.-korjak. *p[o]w" 'Geistlicher, Priester' sehen äußerst unsicher aus.

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EBLAITIC

A STUDY TOWARDS THE GRAMMAR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGE USED IN MOST ANCIENT EBLA – A DEMONSTRATION OF THE USEFULNESS OF ETYMOLOGY AND SEMANTICS

Select forms of its verbal stems in view of other Akkadian dialects*

I The G-stem

In his paper “Nomina mit T-Präfix und T-Infix in der Sprache von Ebla und ihre sumerischen Äquivalente” Burkhard Kienast wrote in 1982¹: “Jeder von uns wird mit grossem Interesse die Veröffentlichung der ‘Vocabolari bilingui di Ebla’ durch G. Pettinato erwartet haben: aber so mancher wird dann beim Studium dieser Wortlisten in gewisser Weise enttäuscht worden sein, ist doch die erhoffte Ausbeute an klar verständlichen sumerisch-ebblaitischen Gleichungen sehr viel geringer, als man sich wünschen mag. Die Gründe dafür sind mannigfacher Natur und für die beiden involvierten Sprachen keineswegs gleichartig.”

* Approximately 30% of the forms cited in the following study were offered in papers submitted by its author at the 5th International Hamito-Semitic Congress of 1987 [see through *Creat*] and the XXXVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in 1989. They have been supplemented and further comments have been added to discuss their character and to offer the evidence through attestations. Special note should be taken of the reference in *Creat* striving to show connections of the Hamitic and Semitic verbal roots and forms having become particularly manifest through the Eblaitic dialect, whereby the latter shows a remarkable preponderance of bi-consonantal or [for some Semitists] “weak” verbs over such resting on three consonants by their origin which suggests a secondary character of the tri-consonantal Semitic verbal roots as compared to the Hamitic type. References to forms and instances published are selective, yet representative. To avoid confusion the original forms of citation in the editions of the Eblaitic texts have been retained. Thus, the abbreviations, e.g., for obverse and reverse are r. and v. [= Italian *recto* and *verso*].

Kienast continued that “in vielen Fällen ist es kaum möglich, die genaue Lautgestalt einzelner Wörter zu bestimmen oder auch nur deren Radikale festzulegen, was natürlich besonders für die sogenannten ‘schwachen’ Wurzeln gilt. Die Eigenheit der lexikalischen Listen erschwert endlich die semantische Bestimmung der Eintragungen, da Kontextbelege aus den übrigen Ebla-Texten zu allermeist bisher nicht beizubringen sind”, and “auch das Sumerische, das hier als eine nahezu ‘bekannte’ Grösse Hilfe bei der Erforschung des ‘unbekannten’ Eblaitischen leisten sollte, zeigt in vieler Hinsicht erstaunliche Abweichungen von der uns bekannten Sprachform”.

To demonstrate that this assessment is as untenable as the remarks on the Eblaitic verb within its Semitic environment which Kienast swiftly advanced by 1981 and 1982 in his papers “Die Sprache von Ebla und das Altsemitische”² and “Zur Geschichte des semitischen Verbums”³ which I was forced to question or rather refute by drawing on the materials at hand already in 1987,⁴ is an inevitable purpose of this study.

Thus, referring to my paper of 1987, I submit again the basic structure of the Eblaitic G-stem and will then turn to its “derived” stems and forms attested. This has become feasible because a systematic investigation of the verbal elements in both proper names (mostly for persons) and words suspected of being verbal forms (including *nomina verbi*) explains much more than was seen and expected by Kienast and others.⁵

Lest one gets mired in the materials having recently been called by a colleague “*scheussliches Zeug*”, the presentation now offered leaves the enormous amount of prosopographic, historical, and other observations as well as conclusions thereof to later efforts of evaluation. It first concentrates on the results of an investigation of verbal forms attested in names and lists that came to light mainly in Eblaitic texts being of interest especially on the grounds of their linguistic character.

Surely, from the outset two matters are to be observed:

- a) There are scholars who consider proper names in more recent languages as units separate from other syntactical members and only in exceptional situations being subject to the rules thereof. *Nomina propria* are considered particularly different from *appellativa*. This does not hold true for the Akkadian and other Semitic formations.⁶ Nor does it apply to the Eblaitic dialect.
- b) A comparison of names and forms with each other as well as with equivalents offered by what is called Akkadian otherwise and among cognates and relatives in other Semitic languages and, no less, in Sumerian counterparts or even equivalents is an admittedly rather tedious process, yet results are safely gained by clarification of the morphological details as the first step, and only thereafter one may and should look at the phonology and other rules, a method old and proven in the fields of Assyriology as in others. One cannot

discover and reliably establish linguistic ‘laws’ without knowledge of the language one has not comprehended as yet. There has to be a foundation to stand on.

**As attested forms are noted for the “Basic-” or “Ground-stem” (= G)
resting on three- and bi-consonantal roots:**

1 present-future:

3rd s.m. *ipahhar*,^{6a} *ikaššar*,⁷ *itarrak*,⁸ *i’abbat*,⁹ *iš’al*,¹⁰ *ina’aš*,¹¹ *ituwar*,¹²
išar,¹³ *irad*,¹⁴ *ibašši*,¹⁵ *immar*,¹⁶ *ikalla*,¹⁷ *ima’a*,¹⁸ *ilamme*,¹⁹ *irehi*,²⁰ *ile’i*
or *ine’i*,²¹
3rd s.f. *tahedu*.²²

2 present-preterit:

3rd s.m. *irkab*,²³ *igmul*,²⁴ *ikbul*,²⁵ *iphur*,²⁶ *iptur*,²⁷ *iksup* / *iḥsub*,²⁸ *ikšud*,^{28a}
ilkuš,²⁹ *irhuš*,³⁰ *iktub*,³¹ *igriš*,³² *imu* / *ir* and *amur*,^{[?] 33} *ipul*,³⁴ *inah*,³⁵
inuh,³⁶ *imud*,³⁷ *il’anud*,³⁸ *il’ahuš*,³⁹ *iguš*,⁴⁰ *i’ib*,⁴¹ *i’in*,⁴² *imi’e*,⁴³ *irhi*,⁴⁴
irdi,⁴⁵ *irmi*,⁴⁶ *il’addin*,⁴⁷ *iddi*,⁴⁸ *enhar*,⁴⁹ *ibbi*,⁵⁰ *išši*,⁵¹ *en’ar*,⁵² *inad*,⁵³
ina,⁵⁴ *iša*,⁵⁵ *ubil*,⁵⁶ *uši*,⁵⁷ *uti*,^{57a} *uru*,⁵⁸ *ilegi*,⁵⁹ *ili*,⁶⁰ *ir’aš*,⁶¹ *iš’al*,⁶² *ib’al*,⁶³
ir’aq,⁶⁴ *iš’a/er*,⁶⁵ *ir’ib*,⁶⁶ *isim*,⁶⁷ *il’e*,⁶⁸ *ilba*,⁶⁹ *irub*,⁷⁰ *il’akun*,⁷¹ *inup*,⁷²
il’atup,⁷³ *aduš*,⁷⁴ *aduk*,⁷⁵ *adul*,⁷⁶ *ilam*,⁷⁷ *ida/e*,⁷⁸ *iriq*,⁷⁹ *irib*,⁸⁰ *iṭib*,⁸¹
ihir,⁸² *iga*,⁸³ *irin* = *irim*,⁸⁴ *ib’a*,⁸⁵ *ir’a*,⁸⁶ *iba*,⁸⁷ *iksu*,⁸⁸ *ihdu*,⁸⁹ *išpu*,⁹⁰
ibri,⁹¹ *ilmi*,⁹² *išma*,⁹³ *ipqa/i*,⁹⁴ *ipte*,⁹⁵ *ihra*,⁹⁶ *iblul*,⁹⁷ *ilul*,⁹⁸ *iqna*,⁹⁹ *ikla*,¹⁰⁰
ibni,^{[?] 101} *ipul*,¹⁰² *irhaq*,¹⁰³ *ilzi*,¹⁰⁴
3rd s.f. ¹⁰⁵ *tarkab*,¹⁰⁶ *tagriš*,¹⁰⁷ *taptur*,¹⁰⁸ *tapul*,¹⁰⁹ *tatup*,¹¹⁰ *tamur*,¹¹¹ *tiddin*,¹¹²
taddi,¹¹³ *tamta*,¹¹⁴ *tišt/te* and *tišt/ta*,¹¹⁵ *ta/tihir*,¹¹⁶ *tiriq*,¹¹⁷ *tišma*,¹¹⁸
til’takun,¹¹⁹ *tatur*,¹²⁰ *timud*,¹²¹ *tamud*,¹²² *tibib*,¹²³ *tar’ib*,¹²⁴ *ti’in/tîn*,¹²⁵
tirin/tirim,¹²⁶ *tisim/tasim*,¹²⁷ *tiša*,¹²⁸ *tigi*,¹²⁹ *tili*,¹³⁰ *talik*,¹³¹
2nd s.f. *tigi/tagi*,¹³²
1st s.c. *arši*,¹³³ *amur*,¹³⁴ *adul*,¹³⁵ *ašma*,¹³⁶ *atup*,^{[?] 137}
3rd du.c. *iribā*,¹³⁸
3rd pl.m. *ir’ibu*,¹³⁹ *iribu*,¹⁴⁰ *iriqu*,¹⁴¹
3rd pl.f. *ir’iba*,¹⁴² *iribā*,^{[?] 143}

3 forms modified from the present-preterit:

3(a) subjunctive:

3rd s.m. *i’ibu*,¹⁴⁴ *il’atupu*,¹⁴⁵ *imudu*,¹⁴⁶ *ikumu*,¹⁴⁷ *il’addinu*,¹⁴⁸ *amuru*,¹⁴⁹ *adu-*
ku,¹⁵⁰ *adulu*,¹⁵¹ *ida’u*,¹⁵² *irkabu*,¹⁵³

* *H* will be represented in this study by *h*.

- 3rd s.f. *tarkabbu*,¹⁵⁴ *tarbu*,¹⁵⁵ *tiddinu*,¹⁵⁶ *tadu*,¹⁵⁷ *tapulu*,¹⁵⁸ *tardu*,¹⁵⁹ *taru-*
bu,¹⁶⁰
 1st s.c. *atupu*,¹⁶¹
 3(b) *ventive*:
 1st s.c. *amura*.¹⁶²
- 4 *perfecta*:
 3rd s.m. *iptaras*,¹⁶³ *ik/qtarab*,¹⁶⁴ *ip/btarak/q*,¹⁶⁵ *igdariš*,¹⁶⁶ *iktabit*,¹⁶⁷ *išta'al/*
âl,¹⁶⁸ *iltam*,¹⁶⁹ *ištalal*,¹⁷⁰ *irtadi*,¹⁷¹ *irtahuš*,¹⁷² *irtapiš*,¹⁷³ *irtaš*,¹⁷⁴ *i/ašta-*
ma,¹⁷⁵ *iltakaš*,¹⁷⁶ *it(t)arak*,¹⁷⁷ *ištapa*,¹⁷⁸
 3rd s.f. *tik/qtarab*,¹⁷⁹ *taltam*,¹⁸⁰
 3rd pl.m. *ip/b-tá-ra-ku_s/qu₆*,¹⁸¹ *ibta'u*.¹⁸²

Eblaitic stative-perfective forms

Since the statives of Old Akkadian, Babylonian, and Assyrian are beyond dispute, it may apparently suffice in this context to adduce Eblaitic instances only.

While I have previously expressed my recognition of the early origin of the element *-a*, one could learn through the Eblaitic dialect and Old Akkadian that this *-a* did not serve by its origin merely as a nominal predicate ending which later came to designate the perfect in West- and other Semitic languages as Gelb (*Origin: Qatala*) has suggested. However, while he has designated word-formations ending on *-a* as “forms of the Predicate State”¹⁸³ and did not carefully enough separate the Stative and the Verbal-adjective,¹⁸⁴ I prefer calling all such forms ending on *-a* and having been used for both verbs and nouns resembling in their employment and appearance to the perfect in the West-Semitic languages *stative-perfectives*.^{184a}

In *Creat* a presentation was offered of the various forms of the stative-perfective as related to both nominal and verbal bases, in the latter case resting on bi-consonantal and, similarly, though to a lesser extent, trilateral roots.¹⁸⁵ A duplication of the evidence and arguments brought there should be avoided now. However, one might assume, it seems to suffice repeating in part what was said on its p. 194, i.e., that Eblaitic and Old Akkadian stand as one group *versus* Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian as another, even though the differences within both ‘groups’, esp. regarding the latter two, are acknowledged to their full extent.

Nothing indicates this so convincingly as their verbal forms. For Eblaitic confirms prior considerations that the Babylonian and Assyrian forms *iparras*, *ipaqqid*, and *irappud* and their approximate analogues for other types of roots as

well as the so-called “*t*-perfect” were innovative as results of a secondary development for differentiation to lend expression to aspects that had been indicated so far insufficiently or had not been taken care of at all. Since traces of these phenomena have been ascertained in Eblaite names, it may be assumed that this process began at the time when and in places where the Ebla-type Akkadian was spoken and written.

These innovations as well as the unlimited use of stative-perfectives in Eblaite suggest that the stative with and without the old affirmative *-a* as varying forms and in its employment for the constating as well as perfective aspects is to be considered older, indeed, than both the Akkadian “(*t*-) perfect” and the earliest attestations of what is known as “perfect” in the West-Semitic and Ethio-Semitic languages, irrespective whether they employed or still use *-a* as suffixed affirmative or not for the 3rd masc. sing.

For illustration and further explanation of the stative-perfectives listed and arrayed in *Creat* pp. 187 f. and 191 f., mostly without comments other than formal classifications, I adduce in this study attestations, translations and supplements. Of the various types,¹⁸⁶ the most impressive are statives having been formed through the use of verbal elements (= a) and such being based on nouns (= b):

- (a₁) *ha-ra-da-šil-ki*,^{186a} *pá-ha-da-hum*,¹⁸⁷ *kà-tá-ba-an*,¹⁸⁸ *ba-qá-ma*,¹⁸⁹ *pá-ha-ra*,¹⁹⁰ *qá-tá-na*,¹⁹¹ *kà-ši-da*,¹⁹² *ha-bil*,¹⁹³ *ša₁₀-gi-iš*,¹⁹⁴ *ša-ti-ir*,¹⁹⁵ *ha-zi-ir*.¹⁹⁶
- (a₂) stative-perfective forms of so-called “weak” verbs:
- I ’: *’a-ha-ra*,¹⁹⁷ *ah-ra*,¹⁹⁸ *a-da-ra*,¹⁹⁹ *é-da-ša*,²⁰⁰ *a-lik*,²⁰¹ *a-pil*,²⁰²
- I ’ / II ‘*mediae geminatae*’ or *a*:²⁰³ *arra*,²⁰⁴ *ar*,²⁰⁵
- I ’ III *i*: *ezi*,²⁰⁶ *azi*,²⁰⁷
- I ’ II & III definitely ‘*mediae geminatae*’: *enna*,²⁰⁸ *agga*,²⁰⁹
- I *n*: *napha*,²¹⁰ *nakisa*,²¹¹ *nagiša*,²¹²
- I *n* / II ’: *na’ama*,²¹³
- I *n* / II *u*: *nama*,²¹⁴ *naga*,²¹⁵
- I *n* / II *i/a*: *nadi*,²¹⁶ *nada*,²¹⁷ *neba*,²¹⁸
- I *n* / III ’: *nadā*,²¹⁹
- I *n* / II ’ and III *a*: *na’a*,²²⁰
- I *u* [≈ *w*] / III ’: *wada’a*,²²¹
- I *u* [≈ *w*] / III *i/u*: *wana*,²²²
- I *i* [≈ *y/*]: *išra*, fem. *išrūt*,²²³ *išar*,²²⁴ *yaša*,²²⁵
- I *i* [≈ *y*] / III *i* or *u*: *ekia*,²²⁶
- II ’ [see also II *a*, *e*, *i*]: *raba*,²²⁷ *la’iš*,²²⁸
- II ’ III *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*: *la’a*,²²⁹ *ma’a*, fem. *ma’ut*,²³⁰
- II *u* [see also II *i* and II *a*]: *lada*,²³¹ *hab(a)*,²³²
- II *i*: *bita*,²³³ *riba*,²³⁴ *uda*,^{234a}

II *i/e* and III *’*: *ti’a*,²³⁵ *ši*,²³⁶
 II *a/e* or II *’*, II *u*, or II *i*: *qama*,²³⁷ *gam*,²³⁸ *lašā*,²³⁹
 III or II *a*, *u*, *i* and *’*: *rida*,²⁴⁰ *ridû*,²⁴¹ *baša*,²⁴² *bana*,^{242a} *banû*,^{242b} *hara*.²⁴³

(b) stative-perfective forms of nouns:

As in Akkadian at its various levels, the Eblaitic language could use nouns in the stative position, i.e. with a verbal function. Properly said the stative is, by the somewhat unilateral opinion of Wolfram von Soden, “eigentlich ein konjugiertes Nomen Jedes Nomen kann in den Stativ gesetzt werden Gebräuchlich sind solche Formen bei Substantiven allerdings nur, wenn sie P e r s o n e n²⁴⁴ bezeichnen und auch dann überwiegend nur in der 3. Ps. (z.B. *šar* ‘ist König’; aAK *aba* ‘ist Vater’ Viel häufiger ist der St<ativ> bei Adjektiven, und zwar nicht nur den eigentlichen Verbaladj<ektiven>..., sondern auch solchen anderer Bildungstypen”²⁴⁵ Here are a few samples of the Eblaitic attestations.

a-ba-/ba₄-il,²⁴⁶ *a-ba-i-lum*,^{246a} *a-ba-ma-lik*,²⁴⁷ *a-ba-ia*,²⁴⁸ *a-ba/ba₄-li-im*,²⁴⁹
i-lum-a-hi/-ha,²⁵⁰ *i-lum-na-im*,^{250a} *il-da-mu*,²⁵¹ *ir-^dda-mu*,²⁵² *ir-da-mu*,²⁵³ *ir-^dga-mal*,²⁵⁴ *ir-^dma-lik*,²⁵⁵ *ir-abba(NE)*,²⁵⁶ *eb-du-agû*,²⁵⁷ *eb-du-^daš-tár*,²⁵⁸ *eb-du-hum*,²⁵⁹ *eb-du-ma-lik*,²⁶⁰ *eb-du-il*,²⁶¹ *ab-da-il*,²⁶² *eb-du-ia*,²⁶³ *puzur₄*
 DN.²⁶⁴

Infinitives of the Basic (G-) stem²⁶⁵

To find one’s way to the infinitives of the Eblaitic language, one might best scrutinise the lists offered in *MEE* 4. This would require a special investigation of considerable length, however, since it is a clearly recognisable mark of the authorities responsible for those lists not to have turned to the Sumerian words treated for grammatical explanation and systematisation in categories, but to have tried helping their fellow tribesmen with the language of major cultural importance in their times, i.e. to provide tools for their daily lives and activities. For demonstration I have picked at random samples for the confirmation of the Akkadian character of the Eblaitic, even though the latter shows some special traits.²⁶⁶

’ada’um,²⁶⁷ *malakum*,²⁶⁸ *warum*,²⁶⁹ *’alalum*,²⁷⁰ *ela’um*,²⁷¹ *zena’um*,²⁷² *rišā-šum*,²⁷³ *qabalu*,²⁷⁴ *baša’um*,²⁷⁵ *našûm*,²⁷⁶ *gamalum*,²⁷⁷ *ra’amum*,²⁷⁸ *ba’a-lum*,^{279a+b} *ša’um*,²⁸⁰ *pašašum*,²⁸¹ *wa’a’um*,²⁸² *wašā’um / wasû(m)*,^{283a+b} *na-’ûm*,²⁸⁴ *naba’um*,^{285a+b} *kamasum*,²⁸⁶ *tāba’um*,²⁸⁷ *kanum*,²⁸⁸ *’alālum*,²⁸⁹ *kapa-šum*,²⁹⁰ *laba’um*,²⁹¹ *šala’um*,²⁹² *dašum*.²⁹³

II “Derivative stems”

There cannot be any doubt that the other verbal stems were not attested in Eblaitic as frequently as the Basic stem was formed and used. None the less, samples should be listed to offer a guide-line for future investigations. I begin with the so-called Duplication-stem (= D).

D-stem

1 present-preterit:

^{3rd} s.m. *udašša*,²⁹⁴ *uwadda*.²⁹⁵

2 a) stative-perfective:

buta,²⁹⁶ *buka*,²⁹⁷ *puma*,²⁹⁸ *suma*,²⁹⁹ *kulla*,³⁰⁰ *lu'a*,³⁰¹ *lula*,³⁰² *uda*,³⁰³ *dunna*,³⁰⁴
puhha,³⁰⁵ *muda*,^{305a}

2 b) verbal-adjective:

tubbuhu,³⁰⁶ *puttu*,³⁰⁷ *murru*.³⁰⁸

3 a) participles:

muda? and *mudū*,³⁰⁹ *mawakkilu*,³¹⁰ *mugeri*,³¹¹ *ullilum*,³¹² *mutappar*,³¹³
mutabil,³¹⁴

3 b) feminine forms and abstracts of participles:

mutabiltu,³¹⁵ *musšatatum*,³¹⁶ *mulitum*,³¹⁷ *mudabatum* and *madabatum*.³¹⁸

4 infinitives and abstracts:

murrūm,³¹⁹ *šubbūm*,³²⁰ *zummū(m)*,³²¹ *huda'um*,³²² *hurba'um*,³²³ *uššurum*.³²⁴

Forms of the T- and Š-stems

1 present-preterit:

apparently not attested

2 infinitives and abstracts:

tatapilu,³²⁵ *tawa'um*,³²⁶ *titapilum*,³²⁷ *ušdummum*,³²⁸ *tištaṭimu*,³²⁹ *tuštadi-*
mum,³³⁰ *tuštanadimūm*,³³¹ *tušta'ilum*,³³² *tuštabilu(m)*,³³³ *tuztana'um*,³³⁴ *tuš-*
tabi'um,³³⁵ *tištaqilum*,³³⁶

2a verbal adjective and stative:

ušdumu,³³⁷

2b *stative-perfective*:

šura,³³⁸ *šupul*,³³⁹ *šuma*,³⁴⁰ *šuga*.³⁴¹

III Observations and conclusion

Karl Hecker³⁴² has correctly pointed to the fact that the amount of materials of the derived stems offered in the *MEE*- and *ARET*-series is considerably inferior to the attestation of forms of the G-stem. Since it is not so, however, that “die ... Ausbeute an klar verständlichen sumerisch-eblaitischen Gleichungen sehr viel geringer ist, als man sich wünschen mag”,³⁴³ and both the nomenclature and bilingual texts represented through lists and others offer a considerable amount of materials, *inter alia* such as pronouns, nouns, prepositions, morphemes, syntactical positions and – being of particular importance – numbers,³⁴⁴ the understanding of the Semitic strain of the language spoken at most ancient Ebla as a primeval Akkadian dialect cannot be other than be beyond any reasonable doubt.

With reference to a previous note,³⁴⁵ I repeat that “the nature of most materials provided by the Ebla texts may well have caused” the indicated “imbalance in the attestations”, yet “this holds also true for other languages and dialects, including, in particular, Old Akkadian.” The purpose has dictated the selection of the items of the vocabulary. Yet, notwithstanding sometimes slightly embarrassing gaps, this language is generally accepted as well established, and this rightly so. Thus, one should not doubt the peculiar character of the Eblaitic as a language by its own standing, any longer, as some still do.³⁴⁶

To repeat myself, the egg-shells of the African descent of the Eblaitic language and, beyond this, of all Semitic dialects become transparent through this pristine vernacular which belongs to the Akkadian group, and yet betrays what is typical for Hamitic languages, i.e., a preponderance of bi-radical roots. Furthermore, one can recognise the slow growth of what should become marks of the Akkadian dialects, foremost in their sector of verbal expression. Thus, it is too far-fetched to claim, as *Lambert* did,³⁴⁷ “that any mere comparison of Eblaite with Akkadian in the known dialects is not more helpful than comparing Eblaite and Ethiopic. Such a comparison is not without use, but it is limited.” *Lambert* “expected” rightly “to find more than one Semitic language or dialect in the Ebla archives”,³⁴⁸ yet one way or the other, to find out about the true character of the Semitic element in the attestations from Ebla, one had to begin comparing the Eblaitic texts with the approximately contemporary Old Akkadian and younger levels of the Akkadian language group, and this procedure has brought tenable results.

One should certainly be aware that the *personal* names attested in Ebla texts were borne by members of various tribes and localities, many being alien to the inhabitants of the kingdom of Ebla and its immediate vicinity.³⁴⁹ Yet to find one's way one has to establish, first, what was Semitic and what not. Different from the premises of this study, *Dietz Otto Edzard* has put matters upside down when he felt that "wenn man zugleich^[350] mit der leidlichen Vieldeutigkeit des orthographischen Systems von Ebla spielt,^[sic!] sind mehr abstrakte Richtlinien wohl willkommen."³⁵¹ Consequently, Edzard has tried to use as preferable "»Kandidaten« für nichtsemitische PN" names with more than two syllables "die wir nicht »ohne Not« semitisch zu deuten vermögen; besonders aber Namen, bei denen wir eine Serie mit bestimmter Endung herstellen können."³⁵²

However, *Ignace J. Gelb* has pointed to the little use of *territorial* and *local* names for historiography, especially in the interpretation of ancient languages. He notes: "The immediate observation that can be made about the ancient Near Eastern geographical names is that they are generally impossible or difficult to understand. This observation applies especially to names pertaining to natural features, such as rivers and mountains, and to a lesser degree to names of man-made features, such as cities (and other kinds of settlements) and countries. The reason that geographical names are impossible or difficult to understand is that they were phrased in a language which is often incomprehensible to us; and the reason for this incomprehensibility lies in the fact that the geographical names were not formed anew every time an ethnic change had taken place, but were", as I would add, often "inherited from the preceding periods, even from the distant ages when some unknown or little-known languages were spoken. In spite of the difficulties connected with the interpretation of geographical names, by observing the formations of the names and the recurring stems and suffixes, certain valuable conclusions can be drawn about the underlying language of these names. Thus, in contrast to the information culled from the study of personal names, the information based on the study of geographical names is of primary importance in our reconstructions of the ethnic situation in the *prehistorical* and *proto-historical* periods."³⁵³ Regarding Mesopotamian geographical names, Gelb, one of the best qualified Assyriologists of our times, continued that the conclusions to be deduced "are at variance with those which can be drawn from personal names. Almost all the Mesopotamian geographical names found in the earliest Sumerian sources are non-Sumerian and non-Akkadian and must be assigned to the *proto*-population of Mesopotamia"³⁵³

For ancient Syria Gelb relates "similar conclusions": while "the great majority of the personal names ... are Semitic (Amorite, etc.), followed by Hurrian and a small number of names of unknown linguistic affiliation ... the great ma-

jority of early Syrian geographical names are of unknown linguistic affiliation, with Semitic and Hurrian names forming a definite minority.”³⁵⁴

Gelb wrote this more than a decade prior to the beginnings of the evaluation of the finds at Tell Mardikh. They brought us more and better insight into the ethnic and cultural structures of both Syria and Mesopotamia, yet his observations and conclusions were and are still relevant and correct. Thus, Edzard’s *procedere* in the matter *Semitische und nichtsemitische Personennamen in Texten aus Ebla* does exactly what is untenable and misleading. How wrong Edzard’s attempt is has been demonstrated by Gelb’s conjecture of a future excavation of “what was once the glorious city of Chicago” with documents referring to a jumble of geographical names misleading the excavators and interpreting scholars.³⁵⁵

Surely, a considerable amount of uncertainty would also shroud the personal names having come to light, yet Edzard’s conclusion “Wir vermuten, dass in der nichtsemitischen Sprache X ein Personennamen durch Anfügen der Endung [-G] zum Ortsnamen umgebildet werden konnte”³⁵⁶ and his interest in place-names of non-Semitic and possibly Semitic background does not contribute anything to answer the question who the Eblaites were and how their language is to be classified. The most important step – for the time being – is to interpret what can be understood with some degree of certainty, and since the materials for comparison are provided mainly by the Sumerian language and still more so the Akkadian dialects, it was natural for the author of this study to try to solve the enigma of the language of the people of Ebla by comparing its verbal elements chiefly in *personal* names, as such representing the vernacular contemporary with Old Akkadian and related to later Akkadian essentials.

It is left to others to engage into the non-verbal materials and, thus to supplement this study.

Similarly unacceptable are *Krecher*’s attempts to use *toponyms* “to tell us something about the language of those who invented it, about their kind of name-giving, about the place characterised by that name”,³⁵⁷ while *Kreberník*³⁵⁸ has neglected to consult the relevant reference works for Akkadian and Sumerian to attempt, at least, to establish the proper Semitic pronunciation and, thus, make the words intelligible, and *Peljo Fronzaroli* as well as *Hans-Peter Müller* and a number of others³⁵⁹ have blocked by their linguistic considerations and constructions the proper understanding and interpretation of both many of the individual words and their syntax.

Instead, one should parse the words gained through the method here employed and try to find out – if this will ever be possible – what the words betray of dialectal variations some of which have been referred to in foregoing notes.³⁶⁰ One will presumably discover remnants of still older levels than are shown through the Eblaitic branch of the Akkadian language family.

NOTES

¹ In *BE* pp. 225-255, esp. p. 225.

² In *LdE* pp. 83-98. See, in particular, Kienast's conclusion on p. 97 that Eblaitic "zeigt die gleichen altertümlichen Charakteristika wie das Akkadische, mit dem es also entwicklungsgeschichtlich auf der gleichen Stufe steht. Das Eblaitische ist demnach das 'Westakkadische', das W. v. Soden bereits vor zwanzig Jahren postuliert hat*; anders ausgedrückt bildet das Eblaitische mit dem Akkadischen – und gegebenenfalls anderen Sprachen zusammen – das 'Altsemitische'." Surely, after Erica Reiner's notes on Akkadian as an idea in view of its 'dialects' (see *LAA*, esp. pp. 16 and 21) one ought to be more cognisant of the intricacies of the internal workings and developments of this language and be careful to maintain the balance, i.e., neither to underestimate nor to overrate the features common to them as well as their contemporary and local environs. To be noted is also Gelb's correcting excuse in *TI* p. 27 of von Soden vs Kienast's real fore-runner Pettinato [*Testi cuneiformi* p. 373]. Cf. *Earl Dial* p. 212 n. 4.

However, in view of the substantial evidence, Kienast did not transfer the language spoken at Ebla to another place, such as Kish, an *argumentum saepe repetitum sed ex nihilo sumptum*.

³ In *Jungraithmayr Chad Lang* pp. 17-23.

⁴ *Creat* passim.

⁵ See, esp., Kienast v. n. 1, K. Hecker "Doppelt t-erweiterte Formen oder: Der eblaitische Infinitiv" = *BE* pp. 205-223, E. Lipinski "Formes verbales dans les noms propres d'Ebla et système verbal sémitique" = *LdE* pp. 191-210, and H.-P. Müller's papers, such as "Das eblaitische Verbalsystem nach den bisher veröffentlichten Personennamen" = *LdE* pp. 211-233 and "Neue Erwägungen zum eblaitischen Verbalsystem" = *BE* pp. 167-204.

⁶ See through various relevant studies, especially, *Stamm* passim, *Noth IPN* passim. See, further, B. W. W. Dombrowski "Concerning names and numbers" = *FoOr* 33 (1997) esp. pp. 181-183.

^{6a} "He assembles, joins" (as in Akkadian tr. and intr. [*AHw* p. 810 f.], with the haplography usual for Old Akkadian and Eblaitic in *i-pá-har* (*qura-dum*) ^dUTU in *ARET V* # 6 XI 4, by the side of the stat.-perf. *pahara* [n. 190] and, in other contexts, the common pres.-pret. *iphur* [n. 26].

⁷ In *ARET V* # 6 XI 3: NAM-GURUŠ *i-kà-šar* "he restores". Cf. *AHw* pp. 266a, 461b.

* For a number of years prior to his death von Soden considered Eblaitic a "Nordsemitic" language, however. See his paper "Das Nordsemitische in Babylonien und in Syrien" in *LdE* pp. 355-361, and still his *Einl* p. 18.

- ⁸ “He beats” in *i-tá-ra-ak* of *ARET* III ## 59 IX 4 and 166 r. IV 2, to be restored in *ARET* II # 28 I 3; same as in the Oakk n. pr. *i-tá-ra-ak-i-lí* and hypocoristic *i-tára-ak*, since Sargonic [*Gelb Glossary* p. 300].
- ⁹ *ì-a-bat* “He will destroy, vanquish” [cf. *AHw* p. 5a] (once the child will have become a warrior) in *MEE* 1 # 724, *MEE* 2 # 17 v. III 9, *i-a'-ba-at* in *ARET* III # 178 v. IV 13'. This form has nothing in common with *ìa-BE* which stands for ^[d]*ìa-ba'al* [see *Names* n. 56 and 62].
- ¹⁰ “He asked, asks, enquires” (may also be pres.-pret.) in *ìš-al-ma-lik* of *MEE* 1 # 6519 v. VI, *ìš-al-da-mu* in *MEE* 1 # 831, *MEE* 2 # 12 r. V 5, *ARET* III ## 536 II 6', 795 III 5', 881 v. I 4'. [Cf. *GAG* pp. 100, 22*, *AHw* p. 1151. However, for Sarg. *ìš-a-lum* read vs *Gelb Glossary* p. 258 *ìš-a-hum* and cf. *Names* notes 82 and 84.] See also below through n. 168 the perf. *ìšta'al* / *ìštâl*.
- ¹¹ In *i-na-'à-áš* of *ARET* V # 1 VI 8 (cf. for *na'āšum* / *nēšu(m)* *Gelb Glossary* pp. 193 f., *CAD* 11,2 pp. 197 f., *AHw* p. 783).
- ¹² As strong form *i-tù-wa-ar* “he turns back” [cf. Akk. *tārum* through *AHw* p. 1333a, *Gelb Glossary* p. 293, *OA WG* p. 187, where the pres.(-fut.) is not attested, however] in *ARET* V # 6 II 8.
- ¹³ In *ì-ša-ra-an/-nu* of *MEE* 2 ## 29 r. II 5, 17 r. III 6, and 37 r. IX 7, *ARET* III # 693 I 2': not pres.-pret. “An(u) is / was hostile” [as I assumed in *Creat* 2.3a [cf. $\sqrt{s}r$ in Ugaritic (Gordon *UT* ## 2200, 2155, Aistleitner-Eissfeldt # 2353) and other Semitic languages, being related to Akkadian *sararu(m)* “to cheat, be false” (*CAD* 15 pp 174 f., *AHw* pp. 1028b f.), Arabic *šarra* “to be malicious, malignant”], but “An(u) is supreme” = pres.-fut. of the Eblaitic equivalent of Akkadian *šīārum* (*AHw* p. 1096; *CAD* 16 seems to have the verbal-adjective and related forms only, see p. 210b para. a) f., however). Because of the impossibility to read *ìa-za-ar* [cf. below n. 27 para. 1] in consideration of the following subject *an* / *anu*, the form listed in *ARET* IV # 10 v. XI 2 as *[N]I-za-ar* must be the hypocoristic *ì-ša-ar*. Note that, other than preterit and stative, the present of $\sqrt{s}iārum$ does not appear to have been attested for the Akkadian as yet. Incorrect Pomponio and Xella p. 59 regarding *An(u)*.
- ¹⁴ In *ARET* V # 6 VI 3: “He moves around” (cf. *AHw* p. 941).
- ¹⁵ For the pres.-fut. of *ba-ša-um* = *ba-sa₁₉-um* [re. the casual variation of *š* and *s* also in Oakk cf. *Gelb Glossary* pp. 101 f.], safe through *MEE* 4 # 991, see *i-ba-sí-šil-nu* “Our protection is on hand” (*CAD* 2 pp. 144 ff.) in *MEE* 2 # 33 v. V 12, *ARET* II # 28 VI 5 *ARET* III ## 99 I 1', 948 I 3', *ARET* IV ## 2 v. V 9, 12 r. XIII 12, 23 r. XI 1. Open must remain for the time being how *i-ba* / *ba₄-ZI-NU* is to be read. For the feasible *i-ba* / *ba₄-zi-nu*, see below n. 87, whereas the analogy of *i-huš-ZI-NU* which is seemingly to

be interpreted as *i-huš-sí-ilu* (NU) [see n. 39] suggests a haplographic *i-ba-sí-ilu* (NU).

¹⁶ In *im-mar-nu* “He (the deity or the child) sees, recognises us, looks at us (the parents and others)” of *MEE* # 3 r. VI 11, *ARET* IV # 4 r. VI 11.

¹⁷ In the haplographic name of a merchant of Mari, i.e., *i-kà-la-ummu* (UM) “Ummu holds” [proclamation or “confession” name = type 1 of *Names* n. 54] in *ARET* IV # 2 r. X 6; the masculine form of the verb may be due to the male character of the bearer of this designation. However, the employment of *ummu* in the masculine gender is regular for Eblaitic and Oakk: see, e.g., names like *i-ba-ummu* (UM), *ip-te-ummu* (UM), *iq-na-ummu* (UM), and *il-ba-ummu* (UM) (see below notes 87, 95, 99, 69), *i- / ib-bí-ummu* (UM) in *MEE* 1 # 760, *ARET* II # 28 I 2, *ARET* III ## 369 IV 3, 370 I 8', 487 I 4', 891 II 5', *ib-rí-ummu* (UM) (see below n. 91), and *adu-ummu* (UM) and the like (through n. 115). *ummu* (UM) is missing in *Pomponio – Xella*.

¹⁸ In *i-ma-a-an* of *ARET* V # II 8.

¹⁹ Haplographic *i-la-me* “He circumambulates” in *ARET* V # 6 VI 1 (cf. *AHw* p. 541, *CAD* 9 p. 70b f.).

²⁰ See below n. 44.

²¹ Two readings are feasible for Archi’s and Biga’s *i-ni-hi-li-im* in *ARET* III pp. 25, 278 regarding the attestation *o.c.* # 2 V 2': (1) *i-lé-'i-li-im* = *ile'i* [of *le'ûm* (see below note 229)] + DN *Lîm* = [instead of a stative-perfective] “Lim is wise”, and (2) *i-ne-'i-li-im* [using the verb *na-a-um*, common as Akkadian *ne'û(m)* / *nê'u(m)*, hitherto attested since Sargonic (*Gelb OAWG* p. 186, *Glossary* p. 188), and as *ne'a'um* in OAss (Hecker *GKT* p. 170 § 98a)] “Lim turns <the enemy to flight>” (cf., regarding the synonymous *šuba-DN*, *Names* sect. IV.3).

²² *tá-he-du* “She will/may be happy” was the name of a **dumu-mí en** [see *hadû(m)* and below n. 89, 322] according to *ARET* IV # 1 r. VIII 9. Note: For *tá-ha-dî-tu* (of *Culto* # 3 r. IX 25) see the younger Babyl. *tahditu* (*AHw* p. 1302a).

²³ In theophoric names which appear to refer to a group of deities specifically concerned with life and death, i.e., *ir-kab-da-mu* “Damu rides”: through *MEE* 1 p. 271, *ARET* IV # 19 r. IX 12, *ir-kab-ar* “Ar rides”: through *MEE* 1 p. 271, *MEE* 2 p. 346, *ARET* II # 25 VI 1, *ARET* III p. 286, *ARET* IV p. 252; [for *ar* see *Pomponio – Xella* pp. 353-355, and *Eblaitica Do.* n. 219]; *ir-kab-gu-sir*₅ “Gusir [= sister of Damu, one of the goddesses of fate (Tallquist p. 318)] rides” of *MEE* 1 # 5091, see further *ir_x / ir-kab-tu-lum* “Tullum r.” in *MEE* 1 ## 797, 809, *MEE* 2 # 41 r. XI 5, *ARET* III ## 240 III 5', 341 r. II 2', 5' [*tullum* “violent, brute” here = DN in statu absoluto of verb.-

adj. D (cf. *AHw* p. 1394a)]. With the exception of Damu and Ar these deities are missing in *Pomponio – Xella*.*

²⁴ In *ig-mul-da-mu* “Damu treats/-ed friendly” *MEE* 1 # 762; cf. for the Oakk *Gelb OAWG* pp. 158, 175, *Glossary* p. 118.

²⁵ “He covered, dressed” [\approx Akk. *kabālu(m)*: *AHw* p. 414b] in *ik-bù-ul-ma-lik* of *MEE* 1 # 760, *MEE* 2 ## 22 v. III 7, 39 v. V 5, 40 r. X 15, *ARET* III ## 70 IV 2', 134 v. III 1' [partly, yet safely restored], 345 v. I 8 [partly, yet safely rest.], 457 v. IV 9', 458 v. III 13, 730 r. IV 5, 888 II 4', 913 II 2, *ARET* IV ## 1 r. IV 10, V 2, 6 r. VII 14, 7 v. V 8, 13 v. XII 14, 19 r. X 9, *ARET* VIII # 531 52:26, and as hypocoristic n. pr. in *MEE* 2 # 19 v. VI 21, *ARET* III ## 153 I 2', 154 III 6', 412 IV 5'.

²⁶ Sic! “He assembled, gathers” transitive as it could be used also in Oakk [*Gelb Glossary* p. 212: *a-hu-pá-hir/-har*] with DN and in hypocoristic employment, so in *ip-hur-ill/-il* *MEE* 1# 5080, *MEE* 2 ## 19 r. III 15, 21 v. II 7, *ARET* III ## 757 r. I 2', 255 r. VII 1, *ip-hur-ia* *MEE* 2 ## 17 v. XI 18.21, *ARET* II # 12 VII 1, *ARET* III ## 5 v. I 8', 460 r. I 2, 466 v. I 5, 967 I 4', *ARET* IV ## 1 v. III 9, 22 r. II' 5, *ip-hur-d'â-da* *ARET* II # 30 XI 6, *ARET* IV # 20 r. VI 13, *ip-hur-ma-lik* / -EN *MEE* 1 # 760, *ARET* III ## 100 v. III 3, 124 II 2', 467 r. II 15, 469 r. II 6, 634 III 2', 783 I 1' 862 II 1, 361 v. IV 2', *ARET* IV ## 10 v. I 7, 15 v. IV 2, VI 4 [partly, yet safely restored], *ip-hur-úr* *MEE* 1 # 760, *ARET* III # 134 v. III 2' [for $^d\text{Úr} \cong ^d\text{Nabû}$ see Deimel *Panth*² p. 47 # 399, *Panth* p. 128 # 1250, *Pomponio Nabû* p. 157] (Úr is missing in *Pomponio – Xella*); *ip-hur-LU* in *ARET* IV # 2 v. V 12 being comparable to *KAL-ip-hur* of Ur III in Nikolski *Dok* II 355, LU [\approx Akk. *madu(m)* and *KAL* (\approx *danan(um)*)] denoting the object, and in *ip-hu-úr* of *MEE* 2 # 22 v. III 9, *ARET* III ## 272 V 2', 322 r. VI 3 being hypocoristic for “DN assembled, gathers” or referring to the person so named as subject: “He gathers much, many” resp. “power, might”.

²⁷ *pá-ta-ru₁₁* (= *ru_x*) is attested for the Ebl.-Akkad. in *MEE* 4 p. 207# 95 together with the infinitives *pá-tá-hum* and *ba-ta-lu-um* the meanings of which are circumscribed by the Sumerian phrase **nì-tur-du₁₁-ga** “the ordering of something minor, of a pause, break [cf. in *MEE* 4 p. 206 # 93 **nì-tur** \approx *ša-a-tum* “moment” comparable to Hebr. *ša'ah* “hour”]. It is obvious that *ip-tur* means “he freed, delivered, redeemed, relieved, brought relief” in *ip-tur-d'â-da-gan* *ARET* III # 457 r. VII 4, *ARET* IV # 14 v. III 4, *ip-tur-d'â-*

* While one might feel with respect to *ir-ga* / *kà-bù* in *MEE* 2 # 22 v. X 7, *ARET* III ## 74 IV 3', 78 r. II 1' it ought to be understood to refer to the bird *èr-kà-bù* “pigeon” [cf. *CAD* 1,2 p. 253a, 7 p. 177b, *AHw* p. 67a; if “pigeon” is correct; *Stamm* § 35.5 (faulty also otherwise <see through *Eblaitica Do.*>) would have to be changed on p. 254], the feminine *tarkabbu* [see through n. 154] makes its interpretation as elliptic subjunctive more likely.

da *ARET* # 2 v. IV 8, *ip-ṭur-^dqú-ra* *ARET* IV # 3 r. XII 4, *ip-ṭur-il* *MEE* 2 ## 26 r. V 6, 27 v. IX 8, 29 r. IV 12, 32 v. V 4, 33 r. IV 15, *ARET* III ## 322 r. VI 9, 360 I 2, 476 I 1', 502 II 4', *ARET* IV ## 13 r. XIV 4', 16 r. IV 16, *ip-ṭur-ma-lik* *ARET* III ## 143 v. II 2', 544 II 2', *ARET* IV 11 v. V 11, 25 r. III 6, *ip-ṭur-ia* *MEE* 2 ## 2 r. II 5, 39 v. IV 13, *ARET* IV ## 1 r. V 10, v. I 9, 2 v. IX 2 [restored], 6 r. VI 6, VIII 13, IX 3, v. VIII 3, and 7 times through *ARET* III p. 281, *ip-ṭur-ia-ra-mu₅* or *ip-ṭur-zár-ra-ia* "Father Ia delivered, redeemed" in *ARET* IV # 24 r. VII 4.

For the first of the alternative readings cf. the n.pr. *ia-ra-mu* in *MEE* 2 ## 26 v. IX 2, 36 v. VI 2, *MEE* 1 ## 812, 1557 and see my "From Ia to Yahweh"; for *mu₅* instead of *mu* see *Earl Dial* p. 220, *MEE* 4 # 597: *a-su* ≈ *mu₅-mu* // *mu₃-mu-um* = *mummu* I (*AHw* 672a), *et al.* Regarding the second alternative see the Middle Bab. [< Sumerian] use of *NI* as *zár* in personal, divine, and geographic names [*LABAT* # 231, *von Soden Syll* # 146]; and for Babyl. (younger levels) *zārû* as analogue to *abu* see *AHw* pp. 1516b f. The duplication of the *r* in *-zár-ra* [= *zár-râ*] has been due to assimilation or intent of indication of the ' in the stem *zár-ra*' [cf. *Gelb OAWG* p. 43] put in the stative-perf. by addition of the affirmative *-a* this formation serving as simple noun [see *Creat* n. 10] similar to the uncontracted nominative *ia-za-ra-u* in *ARET* IV # 16 r. VIII 11. See further, besides other formations, the many instances of *ip-ṭur-i-šar* through *MEE* 1 p. 271, *MEE* 2 p. 345, *ARET* II p. 108, *ARET* III p. 281, *ARET* IV p. 251.

To this group belongs also with suffixed pron. pers. 1st s.c. in hypocoristic use as well as with DN, *ip-ṭu-ra* "he brought me (dative) relief" [with elision of the final *-m* (this would presuppose an earlier date than has hitherto been assumed <cf. *OAKk* with *OAss* and *OBab*: *Gelb OAWG* pp. 130 f., *GAG* p. 43 (§ 42g)> for the appearance of the form *-a*; however, since forms and graphic signs previously considered to have been of more recent use do show or letters are missing from time to time in Eblaitic texts <striking examples: *amelum* instead of *awilum* and the casual absence of the *-m* from the suffixes of 2nd and 3rd pers. sg.>, one has to accept *-a* as suffix 1st s.c.; see also below notes 83 f.] in *MEE* 1 ## 775, 1056, 1079, 1111, 1817, *MEE* 2 ## 3 r. VII 4, 37 r. IX 12, *ARET* # 58 IV 2, *ARET* III ## 68 v. VII 4, 169 II 4, *ARET* IV ## 4 r. VII 4, 7 r. II 2, and *ip-ṭur-a-malik* (EN) with a syllabic break in *-ṭur-a-* (instead of *-ṭu-ra*) which is to be accepted as regular for Eblaitic as for *OAKk* since Pre-Sargonic times (cf. *Gelb OAWG* pp. 42 f.); the missing *m* amidst the word-connection seemingly confirms the equation of *malik* and EN in *MEE* 2 # 14 v. IV 3. For the feminine equivalent *taptura* see n. 108.

"He cut loose, delivered" in *ik-su-up-da-mu* of *ARET* II # 15 V 11, *ARET* III ## 35 r. V 6', 139 v. II 4', 457 r. IV 3, 688 v. I 6', *ARET* IV # 14 r. I 5,

Culto ## 3 r. X 21, XI 13, v. VII 8. For the alternate or variant *ih-šu-ub-da-mu* [cf. Akkad. *hašābum* ≈ **kuḍ** (*AHw* p. 331a)] see *ARET* III ## 410 v. II 6 [partly, yet safely restored], 947 r. IV 3', *ARET* IV # 1 r. VIII 15.

28a

See below note 192.

29

What was read by the editors of the Eblaitic texts hitherto published as *il-gú-uš* belongs to the formations with change from *h* to *k* to be discussed below in n. 176*. Here it may suffice to adduce the attestations of *ilkuš* “He (the god) whispered, enchanted”: (1) *il-ku_x-uš-da-mu* in *MEE* 1 # 5073, *MEE* 2 ## 43 r. VI 11, IX 4, *ARET* III # 5 v. II 6', (2) *il-ku_x-uš-TI* *MEE* 1 ## 700, 736, *MEE* 2 # 1r. VII 13, *ARET* II # 28 IX 1, *ARET* III # 504 I 1', *ARET* IV # 5 v. X 4, (3a) hypocoristic *il-ku_x-uš* in *ARET* III # 732 VI 2', and (3b) again the hypocoristic form, now with the suff. pers. 1st sing. [see note 27] in *MEE* 2 # 19 r. X 9.

30

“He moved, was fresh and invigorating, alert” (see *AHw* p. 943b) in:

(1) *ir-huš-da-mu* of *ARET* III # 458 v. I 6,

(2) *ir-hu-uš-ša-li* of *ARET* III ## 458 v. V 10, 468 r. III 4, *ARET* IV # 14 v. II 12 [meaning “My bedfellow was alert”: *šallu* “sleeper” here as in *ba'al* (*BE₈*)-*ša-li* of *ARET* III # 57 II 9' ≈ *šalilu* “sleeper, bedfellow” (*CAD* 16 pp. 72, 74a, *AHw* p. 1077)],

(3a) *ir-huš-šillu* (*ZÉ*) “the protector (see the following clause) was alert” in *MEE* 1 # 5043 [= TM.G.11103 I 2], *ARET* III ## 1 V 1', 92 I 2', 253 v. III 4', 255 r. IV 2, 323 v. V 7", 535 r. I 2 [partly restored, but safe], 562 r. II 1', VI 1' [partly, yet safely restored], 749 IV 6' [partly, yet safely rest.], *ARET* IV ## 1 r. VII 23, 2 r. VII 6, 5r. V 9,

(3b) *ir-huš-šil-mimmi* (*ZA_x*)-*ma-lik* *ARET* III # 940 V 6' [for this interpretation of *za_x* see *Names Do.* appendix n. *7, and for the application thereof on ^[d]*Malik* see below n. 98],

(3c) *ir-huš-šil-mimmi* (*ZA_x*)-*ia* *ARET* IV # 6 v. VII 15 [for *šil-mimmi* “protection/-tor of everything, Lord supreme” as one of the titles of ^[d]*Īa* as of *Malik* see my paper “From ^d*Īa* to Yahweh”],

(4) Further, in a GN offering a hypocoristic PN of the *ktistēs* or owner / ruler thereof in *ARET* III ## 225 v. II 8', 236 v. II 6', and through *MEE* 1 p. 277, *MEE* 2 p. 359, *ARET* IV p. 276 *ir-huš^{ki}* is not to be translated by “Servant of ^[d]*Huš* [cf. *Deimel Panth* p. 137 # 1436 and *Panth²* pp. 84 f. # 724 nor is *ir-ša-huš* in *MEE* 2 # 7 r. XIV 10], i.e. by analogy to names like URU ^[m]*ir-gašan^{ki}* [see *RG* 5 pp. 34 f.]. However, the naming of places and areas through application of personal names has been as common in Ebla texts as it still is in our times. See also below n. 172.

31

ik-túb in *MEE* 1 ## 6, 15 ≈ **mu-sar** in *MEE* 3 # 1 v. VI 8 [see also n. 188].

32

The uses of Akkadian *garāš(um)* may reflect a *homonymous* character of its forms or, as is more likely in view of a certain degree of similarity

regarding the meanings involved, *garāšum* has gone through processes of differentiation concerning its employments, meanings, and possibly, the vocalisation of the then filial preterit forms (cf. *AHw* pp. 282a, 903a, *CAD* 5 p. 49, 13 p. 128). While also the meanings “to come” and “expel” would befit a deity [see the instances below], I opt for the meaning “to copulate”, since the Eblaitic employment of *-i-* for the preterit goes not only with the assumption of two verbs *garāšum* in *CAD* 5 p. 49, for the former of which no preterit is given, but also with the common beliefs of Eblaites and others in their environment that frequently human beings were fathered by gods [cf. for hitherto attested Akkadian names and sentiments in this direction *Stamm* pp. 259-61, by the side of expressions of other, more moderate thoughts: cf. *o.c.* pp. 136-46]. The root *grš* “copulate” (\approx *inter alia* even *nāku* [cf. *CAD* *l.c.* and 11,1 p. 197 f.]) has been confirmed for Ebla through the attestations of *gū-ra-šu-um* and *gu-rí-šu*, i.e., **sag-du**₈ which was explained by Falkenstein and van Dijk (II pp. 111, 133) to mean “*besprengen*”.

For Eblaitic *igriš* see *ig-rí-iš-da-mu* “Damu copulated” in *MEE* 1 # 831, *ARET* III ## 531 V 1' [partly restored], 934 I 2', *ig-rí-iš-li-im* “Lim c.” in *MEE* 2 # v. VI 3, *ARET* III ## 477 I 8', 592 v. III 1' [partly restored], *ARET* IV # 10 v. V 7, *ig-rí/ri-iš-ha-lam* “Halam c.” see through *MEE* 1 p. 270, *MEE* 2 ## 45 r. V 4, 25 r. V 3, *ARET* IV # 19 r. IX 9, *ig-rí-iš-gamal* (*GĀM*) “Gamal (\approx *Auriga* [cf. Gössmann p. 19 # 64]) c.” in *ARET* III # 470 r. III 5, hypocoristic or possibly relating to a human father *ig-rí/ri-iš* “He copulated” in *MEE* 1 ## 702, 722, 833, 849, 876, 929, *MEE* 2 ## 11 r. IV 4, 19 r. XIII 10, 22 v. VII 6, *ARET* II # 28 XVI 2, *ARET* IV ## 15 v. I 4, 12, and through *ARET* III p. 283. See also *igdariš* through n. 166.

On account of the masculine suffix in *ig-rí-su* (*MEE* 1 ## 712, 1456, *MEE* 2 ## 6 r. VII 2, v. III 5, 11 r. IV 7, *ARET* II # 30 X 9, *ARET* IV ## 5 r. VI 6, 14), this name and the corresponding one with the feminine suffix *-sa* (see in *MEE* 2 # 30 r. VIII 8 [= *ARET* II # 14 VIII 8] and through *ARET* III pp. 283 f.) are a *different* matter. They mean “his” resp. “her reward [the plurale tantum \approx “payment, wages”] (he/she has received)” each, by necessity [deities are not “rewarded” or blessed through human infants], referring with the pron. suff. to the parent and with the pl. of the noun *igru* in the accusative case to the child (cf. *CAD* 7 pp. 44 f.).

³³ “He sees / saw”. See *i-mur-li-im* in *MEE* 2 ## 5 v. I 1, 9 r. I 3, 13 r. III 1, *ARET* II ## 4 I 3, 6 XI 4, *ARET* IV ## 16 r. XII 15, 17 r. IX 8, *i-/i-mur-da-mu* in *ARET* III # 505 v. II 4', *ARET* IV # 6 v. XI 3; cf. *Gelb OAWG* p. 181, *AHw* pp. 40b f.

Dialectal with pret. on *-i-* in *i-mi-ir-ia ma-lik i-ša-ru₉-um_x^{ki}* or *mu₅-ša-ru₉-um_x^{ki}* in *ARET* IV # 24 r. VIII 2 f. Cf. for this GN [which is to be

located precisely elsewhere, as is inferred from textual indications of its geographical environment(s)] with the alternate ways of writing *ì-/mu₅-ša-ru₉-um* / *ša-ru₁₂* / *ša-ar^{ki}* through *ARET* III p. 325, *MEE* 1 p. 277, *MEE* 2 ## 3 v. VII 16 <Pettinato's explanation with reference to M. Dahood is not convincing>, 8 v. III 3, 39 v. IV 9. Note, further, the syllabographic attestation of *ma-lik* for a human ruler instead of the usual *EN*.

Another dialectal form of the 3rd s.m. could be *amur* q.v. through n. 134.

³⁴ In *ì-pù-ul-il* "Il answered" of *MEE* 1 # 1230, *ARET* III ## 320 I 3', 345 v. I 9 [most of it restored], 470 r. IV 4, 811 II 5', its analogue *ì-pù-ul-ia* of *ARET* III # 214 v. ^[2] II 11, *ARET* IV ## 1 r. V 6, 6 r. VIII 3; see further notes 102, 158, 325, and 327.

³⁵ See *i-na-ah-li-im* "Lim exerted himself, became tired" [cf. *CAD* 1,2 p. 101b, *AHw* p. 48] in *MEE* 1 # 1610.

³⁶ In *i-nu-ha₄-li-im* "Lim was appeased with respect to me" of *ARET* IV # 474 II 1'. For *nâhu(m)* [mediae -u-] with suff. 1st s. see *CAD* 11,1 p. 145a.

³⁷ In *i-mu-ud-da-mu* of *MEE* 2 # 14 r. IV 4, and *i-mu-da-mu* by assimilation in *MEE* 2 # 47 v. I 3: "Damu came in contact (with the mother of the person so named), clung to her (= copulated with her), imposed (himself upon her)". For the rationale of this interpretation of *imud* see below n. 122.

³⁸ In *i-nu-ud-da-mu* of *MEE* 2 ## 19 r. XI 3, 10 v. II 6, 25 r. VII 2, *ARET* III ## 134 v. VIII 12 [partly rest., yet safe], 263 III 1' [rest. with some probability], 274 III 6, 401 v. V 7', 467 r. VIII 6' [safely rest. in part], 802 v. III 6', 862 III 4', 924 III 1' [partly, yet safely rest.], *ARET* IV ## 2 r. IV 13 [partly, yet safely rest.] 10 r. XII 12, 11 r. I 2 [partly rest., yet safe], 8, 12 r. IV 10, and (with assimilation of the -d to the following š- and the nominative ending -u referring to the person so named) in *i-nu-^dša-ma-ga-nu* of *ARET* IV # 13 v. III 5 "Damu / Šimigi moves, was alert". For the rationale of this understanding of what was read *inut* so far, see, further, below n. 121. Right now, cf. for this verb Aram. and Hebr. *√nwd* "to move, fluctuate" hitherto seemingly unattested in Akkadian, and note its synonym through note 30.

³⁹ In *i-huš-ša-ma-lik* = *ihuš* + pron. pers. suff. 1st s. "Malik gave me (the child)" of *Culto* # 2 v. V 11, further in *i-huš-si-šil-nu* "Our protector gave (the child) to her" [see *Earl Dial* p. 233 and above n. 27] of *MEE* 2 ## 12 r. VI 1, v. IV 9 [cf. confirming *Gelb Glossary* pp. 122 f. vs doubts voiced in *CAD* 6 p. 147a and *AHw* p. 335a; cf. also above n. 15] and in what is very likely to be read as *i-huš-si-ilu* "The god / Ilu gave her (dat.) <the child>" in *MEE* 2 ## 6 r. II 4, 14 v. III 5, 15 v. III 1, 16 v. III 1, 21 v. III 5, 25 r. VIII 13.

Note the variant in *a-huš-da-an/-nu*^{ki} [for ^d*da-an/-nu* see Pomponio – Xella pp. 389 f., Tallquist *Epith* p. 83] “(place of) Ahušdan(u)” of *ARET* III ## 588 r. IV 5, 99 II 3', 100 v. III 7, *MEE* 1 # 5100.

⁴⁰ In hypocoristic *i-gú-uš* “He (the god) came” or “He (the person so named) runs fast” [Akkad. *gâ/uāšû(m)*: *CAD* 5 p. 58a, *AHw* p. 283b] of *MEE* 2 # 26 v. V 3.

⁴¹ See *Creat* pp. 189 and 199 (n. 18) and more instances through *ARET* IV p. 248.

⁴² *Creat* pp. 189 and 199 f. (n. 19) and add the following instances for *i-in-^dā-da*: *ARET* IV # 13 r. XII 18, for *i-in-il*: *ARET* IV # 10 r. X 5, for *i-in-ia* *ARET* I # 5 v. VIII 1, *ARET* IV ## 14 r. VI 11, 17, for *i-in-šillu* (ZÉ): *ARET* IV ## 13 v. XI 6, 17 r. IX 14, 19 v. VIII 7.

⁴³ In *i-mi-il* “Il exults” of *MEE* 1 # 4948 and *i-me-* or *i-mi-kinu* (*GIN / DU*) “The just / ^[d]DU exults” of *MEE* 1 # 4932 v. IV [for Eblaitic *kīnu* see through forthcoming *Eblaitica Do.*; regarding ^dDU see Deimel *Panth*² p. 48 # 410, *Panth* p. 102 # 728].

For Oakk attestations of *imi / me* see *Gelb Glossary* p. 44 and *AHw* p. 45. Contrary to the mistaken connection of *imi* with *ami*, the verb *a-ma-um* [already recognised in *AHw* p. 45b and *CAD* 1,2 p. 89b] is adduced in *MEE* 4 p. 356 # 0115 as equivalent to Sumerian **hi-li** which corresponds to Akkadian *hašāšû(m)* “to rejoice” [*CAD* 6 p. 138b, *AHw* p. 333b] and *kuzbu* “luxuriance, abundance, attractiveness, charm, sexual vigour” as well as the adjective thereto *kuz/n-zubu* [*CAD* 8 pp. 614 f., 617]. Since there was, *inter alia*, another use of the root *hašāšû(m)* [*AHw* l.c.] or, if homonyms were involved, a second root [*CAD* 6 pp. 138 f.] meaning “to swell, be(come) inflated”, one could probably surmise that the basic meaning of the common original of the group *hašāšû(m)* was “to go beyond oneself”. This would also suit to both Akkad. *kuzbu*, *kuzzubu** and Eblaitic *kà-na-um* being, according to *MEE* 4 p. 316 # 1070, the alternate of *a-ma-um* as equivalent to Sumerian **hi-li**, whereby the infinitive *kà-na-um* belongs [other than *CAD* 8 p. 159a and *AHw* p. 440b have it] together with the Old Babylonian stative *kanât* in *muštarhat u kanât* in *VAS* 10 215: 19, which phrase then means “she is proud and happy”.

⁴⁴ In *ir-hi-ia* “Ia begot (the child)” in *ARET* III # 249 r. III 2, *ARET* IV # 6 r. VI 3. With it goes the present *i-ré-hi-ia* in *ARET* III # 588 r. III 3 and *ARET* IV # 24 r. VI 7. For this form of the present of *rehû(m)* and its preterit see *AHw* p. 969a.

* This shade of the meaning of the root *kzb* → Hebr *kōzēb*, *kizzēb* “to lie, cheat” etc; only then follow, vs *HAL*³ p. 446 *et al.*, the other meanings of the Aram. and Arab. roots *kdb* / *kḏb*.

⁴⁵ See *ir-dì* [not *ir-*, which forbids any valid thought of *erda*-^[d]TI “Servant is he of ^dTI”] “He (the god²) guided, accompanied”, [see below note 171] of *MEE* 1 # 1063, *ARET* III ## 111 r. VIII 2', 361 v. II 3', 784 III 3', *ARET* IV ## 5 r. I 4, 9 r. II 3, 23 r. X 1, XI 5, *ARET* VIII # 524 19:6, 529 40:9, 531 42:18.

⁴⁶ In *ir-mì-^dša-ma-gan* “Šimigi took residence, came to cohabit^[2]” [cf. *AHW* p. 953a: G-stem 6)a)] of *ARET* IV # 3 r. VI 2 (cf. note 38, but not 278).

⁴⁷ In hypocoristic *i-dì-in* of *MEE* 1 # 1671, *ARET* II # 28 X 2, *ARET* III # 871 II 5', in *i-dì-in-ì-lam* of *MEE* 2 # 14 r. VII 6 and possibly [yet see the following note] with assimilation of *-n-* before the initial laryngeal or pharyngeal of the subject, in *i-dì-^dì-lam* as of *MEE* 1 ## 1107, 4932, 4952, *MEE* 2 ## 39 r. IX 13, 40 r. III 3, *ARET* II ## 5 XIII 10, 15 V 2, and others through *ARET* III p. 279, *ARET* IV p. 255. To these belongs also *i-dì-^dì-la-mu* in *ARET* III # 329 II 2' pointing with its final *-u* either to the bearer of the name or merely using the DN with the nominative ending as it happened occasionally. Note on p. 25 of *ARET* VIII the analogous *i-dì-^deš₄-tár* and *-ia*.

⁴⁸ In his *glossary* pp. 196-199 and in *OAWG* p. 179 *Gelb* has interpreted all instances of the word read by him as *i/it-ti* (and equivalents of different persons) in forms with suffixes or in composite names as being indicative of the 3rd s.m. (resp. said equivalents) in the preterit of *nadānu(m)*, its (resp. their) final *-n* having been assimilated to the following consonant. While for such possible assimilation in said circumstances also in Eblaitic texts samples were offered in foregoing n. 47, and while other compositions with *i-ti* have this part possibly or safely refer to *itti* “together with, by” [see *Names* notes 64 f.], **instances of *i-ti* [= (1)] as well as of its dialectal variant *a-ti* [= (2)]* can make sense** wherever they were used for names in isolated positions, i.e., as single words, **only as verbal forms and when they were read *i-dì* for *iddi* and *a-dì* for *addi*.**

Attestations as alluded to for (1) are found in *MEE* 2 ## 13 r. V 3, 18 v. I 1, 35 r. VI 5, VII 3, v. VIII 7, *ARET* III # 635 v. I 4', and for (2) in *MEE* 1 ## 786, 6519 r. V, *ARET* IV ## 2 r. XII 19, 11 v. XIII 8, 14 v. VI 1, 22 v. III 8 vs haplographic *i-dì-in* as listed in n. 47.

Confirmation of this character of *a-dì* is offered through the n. pr. *a-dì-an* “An gave” (a king of Ib'al) of *MEE* 2 # 21 r. II 4 and *a-dì-ummu* (UM) “Ummu gave” in *ARET* III # 731 r. V 2' (a merchant), through *a-dì-lu* < *addi* + *ilu* or possibly *a-dì-LU* [if not *A-ti-lu* “Father is Tilu (≈ Ba'al, cf. *MEE* 4 # 795a and below n. 118, 133)] “he (the god) grants abundance,

* Not to be read as A-TI as analogue to EN-TI [see the following note] and then translated by “Father is ^dTI” [see the theophoric and possibly other compositions with A-TI below] nor to be taken for *addi* “my father” [cf. notes 75, and 127].

gave plenty” in *ARET* IV # 1 v. II 10, and see the verbum fin. *a-di-ma* of *ARET* III # 178 v. VI 11". Confirmation is provided, further, for both *iddi* and *addi* as 3rd s.m. by the fem. parallel *taddi* [see below n. 113] as well as the infin. *nada'um* “to (have) give(n)” [see *MEE* 4 ## 1443 and 045 both ≈ **ba-ru** (**ba** = “give” and **ru** = “gift”)].

Conclusion: When one reads *i-di* or *a-di* = *i/addi*, these forms stand as hypocoristic names for “he (sc. a god) gave”, and one may well compare this n.pr. with such as Hebr. *nātān* and Ugar. *yt* (*Gordon UT* text 2068:28) // *ytn* (*Gröndahl PTU* pp. 147, 338a).

⁴⁹ “He (the God, i.e. *Halam*, *Malik*, *Gamal*, *Lim*, *Damu*, *la*) snorts (while in battle)” in *MEE* 1 ## 737, 782, 922, 1453, *MEE* 2 ## 29 r. VIII 6, 32 r. II 13, 38 r. V 1, 41 r. VI 11, *ARET* III ## 51 II 5', 101 v. II 1, 215 v. VII 7, 335 I 5, 473 I 5', 632 II 4', *Culto* ## 1 r. X 21, 2 r. VI 4, 3 v. I 9'. There may have been also an attestation of *en-har* in hypocoristic use in *ARET* IV # 1 v. IV 20, unless one has to read EN-ḪAR and understand this as sumerogram for *malik-bunene* by analogy to names such as EN-*da-mu* in *ARET* III ## 79 II 1', 377 r. V 5', 423 II 5', EN-TI [“King is TI” (for ^[d]TI see *Deimel Panth* p. 262 # 3274, *Panth*² p. 16 # 117) TI ≈ Ebih ?] in *ARET* III # 744 v. VI 3', *ARET* IV ## 7 r. XI 1, 13 r. III 6.

⁵⁰ Commonly offered pres.-pret. of *na-ba-um* [= Akkad. *nabû(m)* <AHw p. 699b f., *Gelb Glossary* pp. 194 f.>] ≈ **pà** in *MEE* 4 p. 281 # 725 (together with *na-ù-um* [= Akkad. *na'û(m)* “to shout <with joy or of pain>”; cf. *CAD* 11,2 p. 134a]); cf. below n. 54.

⁵¹ Of Eblaitic *našûm* “lift, carry”. Cf. in *MEE* 4 p. 281 # 723 **igi-ila** ≈ *na-ši-i a-na-a* “the lifting of the eyes [du.]”. Attested in *iš-ši-šum* “he [the father] supported/s him [the son]” or “he [the god as father] brought delight” of *MEE* 1 # 5049 (for *šum/šumu* cf. *iš-má-šum* in *MEE* 1 # 5088 as well as *Fara* 9, 10). Further, see *i-ši-hum* (with the regular haplography) in *MEE* 1 ## 1569, 1567, *MEE* 2 # 7 r. XIII 4, *ARET* II ## 2 X 6, 38 I 3, 55 II 3, *ARET* III ## 2 IV 10', 35 v. II 8, *i-ši-rúm* in *MEE* 1 # 5072, *MEE* 2 # 41 r. IV 15, *ARET* IV # 13 r. II 12, and through *ARET* III p. 278 f., *i-ši-da-an* in *MEE* 1 # 5049: “the (divine) judge appointed (the bearer of the name [cf. *AHw* p. 763a 5)β]), or took care (of the child [*CAD* 11,2 pp. 95b f.])”; with regard to *da-an* see for the Eblaitic way of writing *da-nu-um* and *da-nûm* (≈ **di-ma** “judge of the land”) in *MEE* 4 p. 292 # 825, the Assyrian spelling *da'anu* in *CAD* 3 p. 28 and for the DN as such ≈ *madanu(m)* *ibid.* pp. 32 f., esp. 5', and *CAD* 10,1 pp. 10 f. While seemingly the form *išši* is unattested for Oakk, its existence may be presumed from instances of the 1st sg. and the precativ; see *Gelb OAWG* p. 190.

- ⁵² For the Eblaitic see the latter part of n. 38 in *Names*, and for the other Akkadian dialects and levels with their considerable variations see *Gelb Glossary* p. 191, *OAWG* p. 186, *CAD* 11,2 pp. 178 ff., *AHw* p. 780 f.
- ⁵³ “He praises”; see *Creat* p. 200 n. 20.
- ⁵⁴ See *Creat* p. 200 n. 21. To be added are for *i-na-KUL*: *ARET* IV ## 11 v. I 11, 13 v. I 4, 15 v. VIII 3, for *i-na-ne-gi*: *ARET* IV # 25 v. I 10, further: *i-na-šar* in *ARET* V # 6 III 1 and *i-na-ma-lik* of *ARET* IV # 13 v. III 9 being in significant contrast to *in-ma-lik* and its analogues such as *in-a-ha* as of *ARET* IV # 11 v. V 1 “by, from Malik, Aha”.
- ⁵⁵ In *i-ša-ne-ke-mu* “impostor / Nekemu [= God ‘Cheat’ (cf. n. 78)] confused (the mother)” or, more likely, “Nekemu helped” in *ARET* IV # 3 IX 4.
- ⁵⁶ See hypocoristic *ù-bil* in *MEE* 2 # 2 r. IX 11, and theophoric *ù-bil-x* in *ARET* III # 692 v. III 7', *u₉-bil-a-nu o.c.* ## 63 r. III 1, 466 v. II 6, *u₉-bil-a-an* [cf. *Gelb OAWG* p. 119] in *ARET* IV ## 2 r. VII 7, 3 v. XI 3, *u₉-bil-hum* in *ARET* III # 35 r. III 3' and *ARET* IV # 1 r. VI 17. Cf. *Stamm* pp. 106, 140 f., *Gelb OAWG* p. 183, *Glossary* p. 13, *AHw* pp. 1450 ff.
- ⁵⁷ Hypocoristic in *ù-ší* “he went out (the god after having been with the mother of the child)” < of *wa-ša(-ù)-um* [≈ according to *MEE* 4 p. 257 # 507 **šu-du** <as in later attestations **šu-du-du/è**; cf. *AHw* p. 1475b>] in *MEE* 1 # 4932, *ARET* III ## 281 II 1', 416 II 2', 532 III 4'; the attestations in Oakk have to be sorted out from the materials offered in *Gelb Glossary* pp. 69 f. and *OAWG* p. 189.
- ^{57a} *ù-ti* in *ARET* IV ## 3 v. 14, 6 r. X 2, 14 v. V 7, 19 r. III 2, III 9, V 5, 22 r. V' 1, VII 4, 23 r. VII 14', v. V 8, *ARET* III # 781 v. II 4, *ù-ti-ma-lik* *ARET* IV # 10 v. X 2, *ù-ti-Mu* *ARET* III ## 260 v. IV 3, 460 r. IV 6, 916 I 3, *ARET* IV 15 v. V 5; for *MU* see *Deimel Panth* pp. 180 f. # 2159, *Panth*² p. 12 # 102, for *watû(m)* *G* ≅ *D* see *AHw* pp. 1493 f. For more attestations see *MEE* 1 and 2.
- ⁵⁸ Hypocoristic *ù-ru₉* of *wa-ru₁₂-um* (≈ according to *MEE* 4 p. 355 # 0103 **giš-r[u]**) “he (the god) brings / brought (the child), leads”* in *MEE* 1 # 821, *ARET* III # 523 v. II 6'; for the Oakk attestations see *Gelb Glossary* p. 59, *OAWG* p. 190.
- ⁵⁹ “He is (if the assertion relates to the bearer of the name) / was (if the child’s father is referred to) careless/negligent” (≈ Akkadian *egû(m)* [cf. *CAD* 4 pp. 48 f., *AHw* p. 191a; the Eblaitic infinitive and/or a Sumerian equivalent are apparently not attested, as yet]) as *i-/ì-gi* in *MEE* 1 ## 676, 753, 1124, *MEE* 2 ## 26 r. III 5, 27 r. III 9, IX 11, XI 9, 37 v. IV 6, 49 r. VIII 8, *ARET* II # 26 III 1, through *ARET* III p. 277, and *ARET* IV p. 248,

* Cf. Ebl. *nada'um* “to give” ≈ **ba-ru** in *MEE* 4 ## 1443 and 045. With respect to **giš-RU** ≈ *tilpanu* “eine Wurfwanne” (Borger *AbZ* p. 123 # 296), cf. the meaning of the Hebrew cognate of Akkadian *warû(m)*, i.e., *yārâ* (*AHw* p. 1473a).

in *i-gi-da-mu* of *MEE* 2 # 26 v. VII 3, *i-gi-ia* *ARET* IV # 3 v. VI 6, *i-gi-DA-GA-MU* of *MEE* 2 # 40 v. IV 7 [for the appellative **da-ga-mu**, here apparently used as substitute of a DN, see for Ur III through *Limet l'anthroponymie* p. 393], as *e-gi* in *MEE* 1 # 5050. See also note 129.

⁶⁰ In *i-li-hum* of *MEE* 2 # 33 r. VII 7. While one could consider this a confession-name [then belonging to type 2 recognised in *Names* n. 54, 60] meaning “My God is Hum”, the value *li*₉ in *i-li₉-ummu(UM)* in *ARET* IV # 2 v. VIII 14 has the word preceding the DN appear more likely to be the masculine equivalent of the feminine *ti-li*-DN: see below notes 130 and 271.

⁶¹ See *ir-aš-ia* “Ia comes / came to help” in *ARET* II # 37 II 3. Cf. *AHw* pp. 972a and 960a, *CAD* 14 pp. 187b f. and 268b-271b.

⁶² “He asked / asks / enquires” in *iš-al-da-mu* *MEE* 1 # 831, *MEE* 2 # 12 r. V 5, *ARET* III ## 536 II 6', 795 III 5', 881 v. I 4', *iš-al-ma-lik* in *MEE* 1 # 6519 [= TM.76 G. 521 v. VI]. Cf. *AHw* p. 1151 (for *Iš-a-lum* [*Gelb Glossary* p. 258 and *AHw l.c.*] read *iš-a-hum* and cf. *Names* n. 82).

⁶³ Hypocoristic n. pr. in *ARET* IV # 24 r. VII 6; ≈ OAss *ib'el* [*AHw* p. 120b].

⁶⁴ In *ir-aq-da-mu* of *MEE* 1 # 239 and *ir-'à-aq-da-mu* of *MEE* 1 ## 673, 5060, 6519 (= TM. 76. G.521 v. VII), *ARET* III ## 108 VI 3', 722 r. II 1', 943 IV 5', 959 v. IV 3.7, *ARET* IV ## 3 r. IV 16, VII 20, 14 r. V 4, 17. See, further, n. 79.

⁶⁵ “He battles/ed, vanquishes/ed” [cf. *Gelb Glossary* p. 261 f., *AHw* p. 1118a]. See *iš₁₁-ar-li-im* of *MEE* 1 ## 760, 762, *MEE* 2 # 22 v. V 3, *ARET* III ## 82 II 2, 196 r. III 5, *iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* in *MEE* 2 ## 1 v. III 7, 30 r. X 15 [= *ARET* II # 14 r. X 15], *ARET* III # 614 I 5, and *iš₁₁-ar-ia* in *MEE* 2 # 40 r. IX 12.

With it goes as another instance of the casually attested dialectal variation *iš₁₁-èr-da-mu* in *ARET* IV # 25 r. IV 1; see Akk. *še'èru* [*AHw* p. 1208b].

⁶⁶ “He (the god) replaced (sc. a lost child through the person bearing the name)” [cf. *Stamm* § 40.3a and 4 (pp. 287, 289-291) and the modern names *Renatus*, *Renata*, *AHw* p. 978b], with its first syllable [in the choice of its sign comparable to that of *ir-kab*, *ir-huš* <see above notes 23 and 30>, and others] being represented by the sign ARAD = *ir* as in OAss whose forms show a limited amount of variability for the preterit, however, chiefly on account of the possibility to use the preterit *irib* [see below and *Gelb Glossary* p. 229, *OAWG* p. 186].

Instances in *ir-ib-da-mu* of *MEE* 2 # 48 v. III 4, *ARET* II # 4 VII 5, *ARET* III # 641 I 2', *ARET* IV # 19 r. IX 11, *ir-ib-ga-ma-al* of *MEE* 2 # 37 r. IX 14, *ir-ib-ia* in *MEE* 2 # 32 r. I 2, *ARET* III # 464 v. I 2', 7' [partly restored], *ARET* IV ## 22 r. V' 8, VI' 3.

To this verb belong also forms without -' as medial consonant [see through n. 80], further, the 3rd s.f. [see n. 124], and the plural form *ir-i-bu* [see n. 139], whereas *ir-i-ba* may carry the pron. suff. 1st sing. as indirect object: "he replaced (a/the lost child) for me" [cf. *Stamm* p. 289]. In view of the writing *ir-i-ba-a* [see n. 138] this is feasible.

⁶⁷ Employed with DN and suff. pers. 1st s. dat.: "DN (resp. the brother?) provided for me" [cf. OAKK *s/šīāmu(m)*: *Gelb Glossary* p. 260, *AHw* p. 1225a] in

(1) *i-si-ma-il* in *MEE* 2 # 33 r. IX 8, *ARET* III ## 159 r. IX 5', *ARET* IV # 13 r. III 5;

(2) *i-si-ma-ia* in *ARET* I ## 5 r. XIII 9, v. VII 10, 6 v. III 17, 7 v. 8 v. V 14, *ARET* II # 2 v. 4, *ARET* III ## 7 III 1', 36 r. IV 1, 57 II 4', 143 r. III 2', 345 v. II 9, 457 r. VII 6, 458 v. IV 10, *ARET* IV ## 1 r. V 5, 2 r. III 11, v. VIII 22, 6 r. IX 7, 14 v. III 7;

(3a) *i-si-ma-a-hu* in *ARET* III ## 148 r. I 4', 380 I 5';

(3b) *i-si-ma-ah* in *ARET* III # 645 r. II 4', *ARET* IV # 2 v. IX 15 [*Ah(u)* as a DN was by its origin a 'deified brother'; while it is missing in *Pomponio – Xella*, see *Deimel Panth* # 54 (p. 48), *Panth*² # 956 no. 171; see also below n. 71].

(4) To be added are hypocoristic *i-si-ma* (= *isīm* + *-a*) in *ARET* IV 17 r. XIV 2 and without suffix the sumerogram *TAR.TAR* of *MEE* 2# 25 v. IX 2, as well as *i-si-im* apparently employed as verbum finitum in *ARET* V # 6 XVII 1. See also the femin. through n. 127.

⁶⁸ For *il'e* [see the 'affirmation and confession names' in n. 54 of *Names*], see *il-e-da-mu* in *MEE* 2 # 3 v. VI 11, *ARET* IV # 4 v. VI 11 being based on Ebl. *la-ū-um* [which is explained in *MEE* 4 # 1061 by equation with **ku-li** <one is safe and "strong" within the ranks of friends, the clan*>] = Akkad *le'ū(m)**; cf. *Gelb Glossary* p. 158, *OA WG* p. 191, *CAD* 9 pp. 151 ff., *AHw* p. 547.

For Eblaitic *la'ūm* see also its stative-perf. through *Creat* p. 189, 191 and 204 f. n. 42 and below n. 229.

il'e-damu lends itself as basis for the explanation of the name *il-e-i-šar* in TM. 76 G. 32 referred to in *MEE* 1 ## 6268-6271, 700, *MEE* 2 ## r. V 5, 2 r. III 13, 8 r. X 10, *ARET* III ## 118 r. I 7, 333 r. II 5, 458 r. V 12, 722 r. I 4, 776 v. VI 3, 9, 937 v. IV 1, and the seven instances listed in *ARET* IV p. 249, yet not of *il-a-i-šar* in TM. 75. G.1587 (= *MEE* 1 # 1025) v. V 5 and *il-a-i-šar* by the side of *il-e-i-šar* in *Archi Ebla* → *Bibbia* pp. 31 and 18, *il-a-i-šar* going with *il-a-ma-lik* of *ARET* III # 468 r. IV 1 and analogues listed in *Names* notes 54 [type 1], 60 [para. 1], 62 [para. 1], the

* See also Akkad *li(°)m(u)*, Ugar *lim*, Hebr *l'e'om* / *l'e'ōm* after hardening of the original mimation so as to produce a new word with the *-m* as part thereof.

first member being understood as type b₁ of the stative-perfective as delineated below.

il-e-i-šar means then (since the bearer of this name came into being) “potent was Phallus*” [for *išar* = *membrum virile* see Akkadian *išaru(m)* through *AHw* p. 392b, *CAD* 7 pp. 226b f. (not identified as such in *Gelb Glossary* pp. 77 f.)].

- ⁶⁹ This verb may be read as *il-wá* “he surrounded, covered”, and would then correspond to *la-wá-um* ≈ **dagal-nun-nun** in *MEE* 4 # 053. It would be identical with OAkk and OAss *lawā’um*, even though it has been adduced as an approximate alternate of *ra-ba-um* (l.c.) which is known from Eblaitic names and the various levels of Akkadian as *rabā’u(m)*, *rabû(m)* “to become, be big”, etc. On several grounds discussed in *Eblaitica Do.*, however, I have opted for *il-ba* “he roared” which then belongs to *la-ba-um* with its equivalent **gù-dé** attested in *MEE* 4 # 204 [cf. the employment of the OAkk stative through *Gelb Glossary* pp. 159 f. and the verb *labû / lebû* (≈ **ú-gù-dé-a**) with its cognate OAkk *lab’um* “lion” and its relatives and cognates; see through *CAD* 9 p. 35, *AHw* p. 526].

For attestations see, e.g.:

il-ba-ma-lik in *MEE* 1 # 758a, *MEE* 2 ## 2 r. VII 4, 39 r. III 8, 40 v. I 11, *Culto* ## 1 v. VIII 29', IX 2.7.12, 2 v. II 22, IV 15, 3 v. III 5.19, through *ARET* III p. 284, and *ARET* IV p. 249,
il-ba-da-mu of *MEE* 2 39 v. VI 7, and through *ARET* III l.c.,
il-ba-i-šar in *MEE* 2 # 3 r. IX 2, 8, *ARET* IV ## 4 r. X 2, 8,

* For *Išar*’s cultic worship see *tù-bù-hu-i-šar* [same type as Ebl. *tù-bù-hu-li-im* /-^dà-da /-ma-lik; cf. also *AHw* p. 1376] in *MEE* 1 # 5052. The Eblaitic personification may be recognised from *ip-tur-išar* also [v. above n. 27]. As divine name *Išar* is known, further, from ^d*i-šar-qé-deš-šu* and ^d*i-šar-pà-da* both being of the Old Babylonian period (*Renger GN* pp. 145 and 164). For the idea of divine paternity see above n. 44 and others.

Vs Stamm p. 122, it is obvious as such also in the Ur III names *i-šar-ra-ma(-aš / šu)*, “*Išar* loves (him)”. The interpretation of *i-šar* as subject of these sentence-names suits to *Gelb*’s (*OAWG* p. 151) observation that they ought to be compared to *e-lu-ra-ma* and *e-lu-ra-bi-a* “where *E-lu-* is clearly in the Nom<inative>”. They have their approximate equivalents in *i-šar-kur-ba-aš* “*Išar* blessed, blesses him” (stative D) in view of *kurbanni-^dmarduk* and *kurub-uppulti* where the deity is implored and, similarly, the OAkk theophoric names of the type *ikrub-ilum* [attestations through *Stamm* pp. 180, 158, 192, *AHw* p. 445]. *Išar-kin* is to be translated by “*Išar* / the phallus is / was reliable”, not through “der Echte ist recht (wohl)” [*Stamm* p. 122] or the like. An altogether different matter may be names, such as *išar-šarri*, *išar-beli*, *išar-ahi* which would then have *išaru(m)* “in order” with the connotation of “just” as their first member [*Gelb Glossary* pp. 77 f., *Stamm* pp. 295, 122, *AHw* p. 392]. To the group referring to *išar* as deified *membrum virile* belong also OAss *i-šar-lu-ba-la-aṭ* in *VAT* 9244:30 and *i-šar-lu-baliṭ* in *MCS* 5, 118:14.

il-ba-salim (IGI.DU₈) [in syllabic writing *sá-li-mu* in *ARET* VIII # 532:34 = 532 XIV 1; cf. already *Earl Dial* p. 223] in *MEE* 2 # 32 v. IV 4, *ARET* IV # 16 r. VI 6,

il-ba-sa /-*sá-mu* in *ARET* IV ## 6 r. XI 7, 7 r. VI 11, *ARET* II # 28 III 3 for ^d*Samu* see *Names* n. 60; also possible with the sign *mu* then functioning as *mater lectionis* appears the reading *il-ba-salimu*(SA) <*sál* = *SILIM*> + *MU**,

il-ba-šum in *MEE* 2 # 20 r. VIII 4, and through *ARET* III p. 284,

il-ba-ummu(UM) in *MEE* 2 # 39 r. VII 23, *ARET* III l.c.,

il-ba-mudû *ARET* III # 174 III 7, cf. below n. 229,

il-ba-da-ar *ARET* IV # 2 v. VIII 7.

⁷⁰ In *i-ru₁₂-ub-da-mu* “Damu trembles/-ed, is/was angry” of *MEE* 1 # 5174. *irub* is related to the noun *ra-ya-bu* [≈ **sag-sig** in *MEE* 4 # 240] which represents the Eblaitic form of what is otherwise known as Akkadian *ra’ābu(m)* “shaking, trembling heavily” [known also as PN; *AHW* p. 933a]. Significantly, **sag-sig** is also characterised by the Eblaitic scribe commenting thereon by his comparison with *labû(m)*, a verbal-adjective which seemingly confirms the interpretation offered in foregoing n. 69.

⁷¹ Its *-n* usually having been assimilated to the following consonant as almost regularly in OAss [largely comparable to the situation in Canaanite languages (*Segert GPP* 35.31 on p. 68)], often in OAkk, and sometimes in Amorite [*GAG* § 33 h (p. 34), *Gelb OAWG* p. 120, *Glossary* p. 138, *CAA* pp. 302 f.]. See, e.g., *i-ku-ia* in *MEE* 2 # 41 r. XI 2, *ARET* III # 236 v. V 4, *i-ku₈-ia* in *ARET* VIII # 531 34:5, *i-ku-ì-lum* [a merchant from Mari] in *ARET* IV 17 r. IX 3, *i-ku-’à-bù* / -*áb-bù* of *ARET* III ## 468 r. III 6, 127 III 1, *i-ku-šar* in *MEE* 2 # 19 r. VI 4, *i-ku-ya-an* in *MEE* 2 ## 13 v. III 1, 35 r. IV 5, V 4, VIII 3.11, v. II 2 [regarding the DN *Ian* (*Yan*) see *Europa* pp. 201 f.], *i-ku-ma-lik* through *ARET* III # 467 r. V 10, *i-ku-a-ha* in *MEE* 2 # 43 r. VI 5; cf. above n. 67.

To this group belongs also dialectal *a-ku(n)* as in *a-ku^d-malik*(EN) in *ARET* IV # 5 r. III 15, *a-ku-da-mu* of *ARET* III # 106 v. II 1', *a-ku-TU* [for ^dTU see *MEE* 1 ## 238, 775, 876, *MEE* 2 ## 21 r. III 8, IV 6, *Culto* ## 2 r. VIII 8, v. IV 19', *ARET* III # 337 v. VI 6', *et al.*, as well as *Deimel Panth²* p. 11 # 99] of *ARET* III 651 III 1, and *a-ku^d-UTU* in *MEE* 2 # 37 v. V 3.**

* *Borger AbZ* p. 175 # 457 for *sál-mu* ≈ Akkad. *salimu^{mu}*; for the Pre-Sarg use of **silim** instead of *sá-lim* see *Gelb Glossary* p. 273; [in Sumerian a loan-word from the Semitic original].

** The multiplicity of the second members in these connections withspeaks any thought of pairing of two deities in any one of such names and the identification of the first member with ^d**a-ku** [see for this deity *Deimel Panth* p. 49 # 61, *Panth²* # 949 no. 152 f. on p. 122, *Tallquist Epith* pp. 250, 443]. If they are to make sense with their first member *aku* as verbal form, these connections must offer this in the

MEE 1 # 753, however, has *i-gún-li-im*. Does this indicate that *-l-* was mouillée? – For the corresponding feminine form see below n. 119.

⁷² “He added (the child)” (*AHw* p. 742b, *CAD* 11,1 p. 327b) in *i-nu-up-il* of *ARET* III ## 860 v. IX 4', 888 III 9' and *i-nu-up-ia* of *ARET* III ## 5 v. V 9', 799 v. I 2'.

⁷³ “He turned to, showed his interest in, was gracious to” (*AHw* p. 1323a) in *i-tup-da-mu* of *MEE* 2 # 27 v. IX 10, *i-túp-ia* *ARET* III ## 345 v. III 1, 457 v. II 5', in probably dialectal form as *a-tup-da-mu* (*MEE* 2 # 19 r. IX 6) as *a-túb-ba'al*(BE) (< *a-tup-ba'al* by assimilation) in *ARET* III # 467 r. III 6, *a-túp-ia*^{ki} of *ARET* IV # 6 r. IX 10. Attested as hypocoristic names are *i-tù-pá* of *MEE* 1 # 859 and *a-tù-pá* “he turned to me” (*-a* indicating the dat. of the pron. suff. 1st s.m.) of *MEE* 2 ## 20 r. V 2, 32 r. IX 2, 39 r. IX 5, *ARET* III ## 51 V 3', 197 VI 8', 299 I 1, 465 r. VII 5, 736 II 7', and in the subjunctive *i/a-tù-pù* q.v. through n. 145, 161. See also the feminine equivalent through n. 110.

⁷⁴ In *a-du-uš-ma-lik* “Malik / the ruler smashes / vanquished (the enemy)” [for *diā-šu(m)* with dialectal pres.-pret. on *-u-* see *AHw* p. 168a, *CAD* 3 p. 121] according to *ARET* IV # 22 r. V' 6.

⁷⁵ In *a-du-kà* of *MEE* 2 # 22 v. IV 14 [partly restored]: “he (the person so named) who defeats (enemies) for me (the mother)” [*-a* = suff. pers. 1st s. dat.; see above n. 73 and others] rather than = *addu-kà* “your father” [Sum. **ad** → Akkad etc. *addu*, ^[d]*Addu* > ^[d]*Adda*, *Adad*, *Hadad* etc.] or “GA is the father” [for GA see *Deimel Panth* p. 82 # 418, *Panth*² p. 61 # 594].

⁷⁶ The hypocoristic *a-du-ul* of *MEE* 2 # 21 r. IV 1, *ARET* IV # 16 r. X 2 is here translated by “he moved around (the god who supposedly fathered the person so named)” [cf. *CAD* 3 pp. 58 f., *AHw* pp. 154b f.] on account of the theophoric name *a-du-ul-li-im* in *MEE* 2 # 32 r. II 17. Feasible remains the interpretation of instances of *adul* in hypocoristic employment as 1st sing., however.

⁷⁷ Supplete and correct *Creat* n. 26 on p. 201 to the extent that (a) due to the consistent use of *ì-* for the first syllable of the DN *Ìlam* [cf. above n. 47] the alternation of *i-* and *ì-* in *ilam*-^d*šamagan* seems to confirm the character of *ilam* as pres.-pret. Note also (b) the perfect *iltam* through n. 169, and (c) – to forestall any rash connection of these forms with Akkad *lêmu* “to take food or drink, to crush²” on the grounds of purely morphological considerations – observe the last paragraph of n. 68. See, further (d) the attestation of the theophoric PN *Iirmi*-^d*šamagan*, *Inu*<*d*>-^d*šamaganu* via notes 46 and 38, as well as through *Pomponio* – *Xella* p. 325, (e) the references to Hurritic deities in Eblaitic texts through *Names* n. 82, and (f) the presentation of the

3rd sing. The Oakk instances with still further combinations listed in *Gelb Glossary* p. 24 are understood accordingly.

god *Šimigi* by ^dUTU-ga-an (Laroche *GLH* p. 232) and ^dša-ma-ag (*Deimel Panth*² p. 73 # 650,19).

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As in OAKK “He knows / knew”. It may suffice to adduce most of the hitherto recognisable numerous and manifold attestations:

i-da-ma-lik of *MEE* 1 ## 845, 1024, 1453, *MEE* 2 ## 20 r. IX 6, 25 r. III 3, *ARET* II # 13 X 13, *ARET* IV # 10 r. III 6, and through *ARET* III p. 277;

i-da-il in *MEE* 2 ## 22 v. IV 7, 43 r. IV 5, v. III 6, *ARET* III # 270 II 4', *ARET* IV # 15 v. I 8, and *i-da-ilu*(*NU*) [for *NU* \approx *ilu* see *Deimel ŠL* 2,1 no. 75 # 4] in *MEE* 1 # 6527;

i-da-gamal (*ĜAm*) [cf. above n. 32] in *ARET* IV 22 r. II' 2;

i-da-ia of *ARET* III ## 214 II 12, 460 r. V 4, 713 I 2, *Culto* # 3 v. VI 27, *ARET* IV # 23 v. VI 2;

i-da-hum in *ARET* III ## 64 II 2, 333 r. I 1;

i-da-né- / *-ne-ke-* / *-ké-mu* in *MEE* 1 # 4936, *MEE* 2 ## 22 r. I 9, 26 v. IV 3, 33 r. V 6, 41 r. XIII 8, *ARET* III ## 1 r. IV 17, 7 v. I 2, 13 r. XII 17, v. XI 13, 15 v. IX 15, 16 r. VIII 5, 21 r. I 12, V 1, *ARET* VIII ## 522 22, 524 6 (for *Nekemu* as a deity see beside n. 55 the n.pr. *i-bi-né-ke-mu* in *MEE* 1 # 4955, *MEE* 2 # 3 r. VIII 7 and the geographical name *né-ké-mu*^{ki} in *MEE* 1 ## 708, 6470, *MEE* 2 # 47 v. IV 3, *MEE* 3 # 55 r. II 4, *ARET* III # 510 v. III 4' [ibid. in V 7' *né-ke-em*^{ki}] which is understood as being in a relationship analogous to such as that of land and god *Ashur**;

i-da-abi (*AD-MU*) “My father knew / knows” [for the combination of Old Akkadian syllabic words with the logogram *AD-MU* see *Gelb OAWG* p. 21] in *MEE* 2 ## 30 r. X 10, 37 r. VII 5, *ARET* II # 14 X 10**;

i-da-rimu (*AM*) in *MEE* 2 # 33 r. IX 6; unfortunately, in *MEE* 4 p. 303 # 932, the Eblaitic equivalent of **am** is missing;

i-da-girru (*GIBIL*) / **gibil** [cf. *Deimel Panth*² p. 46 # 344] in *MEE* 2 # 17 v. III 10;

i-da-ba'al (*BE*₈) in *MEE* 1 # 4936, *MEE* 2 ## 8 r. IX 12, 17 r. III 10, *Culto* # 1 r. VIII 28, *ARET* IV # 9 r. IV 11, and *i-da-ba-hal*¹ in *ARET* IV # 12 v. I 2;

i-da-NI₅-ù [= *i-da-ba'al* / *-belu*: see through *AHw* p. 799a, *CAD* 11,2 p. 302b; the value *ni₅*, so far apparently being attested for the Sumerian and Old Babylonian forms of script only (*Deimel ŠL* 1 # 339 and *Labat* # 172)

* For the formation *nekemu* “thief, cheat, impostor” as apotropaic personification to serve as a ‘numen’ one may recall the concepts of Hermes and Mercury as well as the sly character of Jacob → Israel. Regarding *ekemu(m)* as analogue to *nekemtu(m)* and *ekkemu(m)* see *GAG* p. 64 [§ 56b], *CAD* 4 pp. 64b-69b, 11,2 p. 154. The group around *ekemu* is related to Hebrew, Arab. and others \sqrt{hkm} .

** *Vs* Edzard pp. 103 and 107 *a-da-AD-MU* “my father is Addu” has to be kept apart (see *Names* n. 62).

is found – regarding Eblaitic texts in *ARET* III # 451 II 1', *ARET* IV # 1 v. I 5, *Culto* ## 3 r. VI 6.14, 4 r. VI 12; cf. [x-]ni₅-ù in *ARET* III # 902 II 3' and the hypocoristic name in stat.-perf. ni₅- 'à in *ARET* III ## 35 r. VIII 9', 332 II 5', 402 IV 4', 465 r. VI 2;

for *i-da-U* / ù in *ARET* IV # 2 v. VIII 6 see ^dU or ^dIGI-DIB in *Deimel Panth*² p. 92 # 805; a subjunctive is more likely as the feminine *tada'u* suggests;

in *i-da-i-nu* of *ARET* III ## 940 III 13' and IV 13', *ARET* VIII # 522 6; the subject is “the eye”;

in *i-da-LU* of *MEE* 2 # 40 v. V 14, *ARET* IV # 24 r. IX 4 LU is the accusative object; the subject [i.e., the bearer of the name] is offered through the verb fin. Cf. above n. 26.

Dialectal variation in *i-dè-*, so in *i-dè-né-ke-mu* of *ARET* IV # 4 r. IX 7.*

⁷⁹ See *i-rí-ir* in hypocoristic employment in *MEE* 1 # 817, *MEE* 2 ## 19 r. I 3, v. V 14, 25 v. VI 7, 29 r. IV 13, 33 r. V 1, *ARET* II # 15 III 2, *ARET* IV # 15 r. VI 14, through *ARET* III p. 278, and still more frequently in theophoric use *l.c.* as well as through *ARET* IV p. 252, *MEE* 1 p. 270, *MEE* 2 p. 343, and *ARET* II p. 108.

With it go the 3rd s. f. and the 3rd pl. m. [see below notes 117 and 141] as well as, in line with clearly recognisable casual practice the forms *ir-'à-aq* / *ir-aq* [see above n. 64]. While *Gelb LdE* p. 35 read *i-rí-ik* instead of *iriq* (as was suggested above) and tried to connect this form and its cognates with the root *'rk* (“Damu has long been <generous>”), *Müller (LdE* pp. 226, 228) has not recognised that both *iriq* and *ir'aq* / *iraq* belong to the same verb, i.e. Akkadian *riāqu(m)*, as preterita by grammar and sense, *ir'aq* representing the ‘strong’ form following the pattern of verba *mediae* -' and *iriq* going with the more usual formations for preterita *mediae vocalis* -i-, both relating, however, to a condition. “Damu” did not “*sich entfernen*”, but “he was available” (when the child was born, cf. *AHw* p. 979b G 3). The contrast as expressed through the cognate Akkadian *rêqu(m)* of *AHw* pp. 971 f. [in agreement with a practice not uncommon in Semitic languages] would not only require to read *i-ru₉-ik* / *iq*, but also be contradictory to Eblaitic and other ancient Near Eastern customs of name-giving.

The two forms on -i- and on -a- with the strong and older -'à- correspond to the variations between Babylonian and Assyrian. It should probably be noted in this context that the *Eblaitic differentiation* of the so-called *verbae mediae infirmae vocalis* [corresponding to the *mediae infir-*

* Note that the Eblaitic equivalent of the Akkadian infinitive *idûm* was *da'a'um*.

mae radicalis] usually holding to the lines known from the major Akkadian dialects was *principal, yet not rigid*.

80 Form mediae *-i-* as alternate of *ir'ib* (re. the more common form mediae *-'-*; see n. 66) of *ri[']abu(m)* attested in *i-ri-ib-il* MEE 2 # 33 r. I 4, *i-ri-ib-a-hu* of ARET IV # 13 v. IV 13, *iribu* [see below n. 140, 227], and *i-ri-ba-a* of MEE 1 # 5046 as 3rd d.c. pres.-pret. or as 3rd pl. f. of same + pron. suff. 1st s.c. [cf. notes 138, 66, and others and *Stamm* § 40.4a (p. 289)].

81 If this was not composed of *iti* + *ib* (i.e., ^d*ib*), then it should be considered as hypocoristic, so as *i-ti-ib* in MEE 1 # 1107, MEE 2 v. XI 2, 7 r. XIII 11, ARET III # 743 III 2' and as reference to the quality of the god who fathered the child. For the reading *iṭib* one should recall the names with *tab(a)-*, *tub-*, and *tubu/i-*. See also *Names* notes 58 f.

82 In *i-hir-ma-lik* of ARET III # 322 II 7'; see, further, below n. 116.

83 In *i-ga-li-im* of MEE 1 ## 762, 855, 1113, MEE 2 # 22 r. VII 9, ARET III ## 441 v. II 4', 805 I 2' and *i-ga-iš-ru*₁₂ of MEE 1 # 878, MEE 2 # 19 r. VI 7. Yet, in spite of *la-ù-um* ≈ **ku-li** [cf. notes 68 and 229] it is very unlikely to consider "*i-ga-la-um*" for comparison. The use of a form *la'ûm* = *le'ûm* (adj.) would imply the application of mimation to a word connection in Eblaitic or the presence of a DN (cf. *Gelb OAWG* pp. 140, 145). If it should be an appellative or substitute of such (cf. *Tallquist Epith* p. 115), it should, when in regular Eblaitic use, preferably be without mimation.

Since *egûm* has *igi* / *egi* for its pres.-pret. [see above n. 59], this could be its stat.-perf., but as such it would seemingly make no sense in the context of a n.pr. being based on *na/negûm* "to rejoice, jubilate" which has also as final vowel for the pret. first the *-u* and later *-i* [CAD 11,1 pp. 123 f., *AHw* p. 712a].*

I am inclined to assume that *igi* / *egi* ought to be considered a pristine forebear of the Hebrew and Aramaic \sqrt{ng} "to touch".

84 In *i-ri-in-na-ba* of MEE 2 # 14 r. IV 1, *irin* was as pres.-pret. an Eblaitic equivalent of Akkad *irim* [*AHw* p. 970b f., cf. *GAG* §§ 33 i, 24a (pp. 34 and 25)], having been provided with the subject *abba*.** See below n. 126.

85 Hypocoristic *ib'a* "he (the god) sought (the mother)" [= G (as in EA) of what is usually offered as D-stem *bu''ûm* on account of its intensive char-

* The Eblaitic stat.-perf. of *agagum* is *agga*, see through *Creat* pp. 191 and 204 n. 40 which is to be supplemented by reference to Agga, the son of **en-me-bara-gi-e-si**, king of Kish, contemporary and adversary of the legendary Gilgamesh, king of Uruk at the time of 3000-2800 B.C.

** In this case the *-n* was not assimilated to the following *'-*, but the latter to the preceding *-n*. This phenomenon may be compared to that involved in the formation of the PN *nu-ru₁₂-ba-mu* < stat.-perf. *nurruba* + *amu* "gentle is the father" in MEE 1 # 4936 (see Akkad *nurrubu(m)*, also as PN through *AHw* p. 805a; for *amu* as Akkad loan-word see through *Eblaitica Do.*).

acter (see *CAD* 2 pp. 360 ff., *AHw* p. 145)] in *ARET* III ## 249 r. III 7, 441 v. II 2', *ARET* IV ## 6 r. VI 8, 24 r. VII 3.

⁸⁶ “He shepherded” in *ir-’à-da-mu** of *ARET* IV # 14 r. IV 5, *ir-a-ad* in *ARET* IV # 10 r. II 5, *ARET* VIII 541 11, *ir-a-ia* of *ARET* III ## 249 r. III 3, 699 II 2, *MEE* 2 # 17 r. VI 1, *ir-a-hum* in *ARET* II ## 15 IX 14, 30 V 3, VII 11, VIII 4, IX 1.6, X 5, XI 2.12, XII 8, *MEE* 1 # 6519 *ir-a-il* *MEE* 1 # 1860, *MEE* 2 # 25 r. I 13, and in the hypocoristic use as *ir-a* of *MEE* 2 # 25 v. VII 12, and in *ir-a-nu-UD* [³***] of *MEE* 2 # 8 r. V 1.

⁸⁷ Possibly in *i-ba-* / *ba₄-zi-nu**** “the rain passed” of *ARET* III ## 154 III 9', 201 I 2', 405 I 2, 506 III 4', 215 v. II 10', *ARET* IV # 11 v. XII 14, and, definitely, in *i-ba-ummu* (*UM*) “Ummu came” in *ARET* II # 28 XIII 3. For *né-ba-* / *ba₄-il* and similar formations see note 218, however.

⁸⁸ See *Creat* p. 201 (n. 27) and add for *iksu-UTU* *ARET* IV ## 7 v. VII 12, 13 v. XI 9, 20 v. VI 11, 25 v. V 11 (largely restored).

⁸⁹ In *ih-du-TI* “TI was happy” of *ARET* III # 462 r. II 3; cf. above n. 22. For ^dTI see above notes 48 f. and *Pomponio – Xella* p. 506.

⁹⁰ See in addition to *Creat* pp. 189 and 201 (n. 28) the attestations of *iš-pù-kinu* (*DU*) in *ARET* IV ## 6 r. III 10, v. I 2, 20 r. I 6, and below note 178 regarding *ištapa*.

⁹¹ See *Creat* pp. 189 and 202 (n. 30) and *ARET* VIII p. 25. Feasible would also be the interpretation of *ibri* as “my friend” (cf. *AHw* pp. 363 f.).

⁹² “He (the god having fathered the person so named) encircled, embraced (the mother)” in *il-mi-ia* of *MEE* 2 # 39 r. VIII 3, *ARET* IV # 24 v. II 2, *il-mi-hum* of *ARET* III # 137 v. IV 1, and hypocoristic *il-mi* in *MEE* 2 # 7 r. V 5, *ARET* III # 562 r. IV 7', *ARET* IV # 18 r. XII 13.

⁹³ Common in *iš-má* + DN (or appellative to such) “he hears, heard”, yet apparently without hypocoristic attestation (cf., however, note 175). See the text publications throughout s.v. and below notes, e.g., 118, 136, and *Names* notes 49-50 as well.

⁹⁴ See *Creat* pp. 189 and 202 f. (n. 32). As scribal variations from the instances with *ip-qì-* is to be added *ip-qí-da-mu* in *ARET* IV ## 17 r. XIII 15, v. XI 12.

⁹⁵ Of *pá-tá-hum* (= *-um_x*) [cf. Akk *patahu(m)* and *petû(m)* through *AHw* pp. 846b f., 858b ff.] attested in *ip-te-da-mu* of *ARET* III ## 59 I 2, 236 v. I 2, 377 v. IV 2, *ARET* IV # 1 r. I 20, VIII 20, 14 r. III 8, *ARET* VIII p. 27, and

* *Vs Fronzaroli Typonom* p. 20 not to be identified with *ir'aq* or *il'aq*.

** *UD* could stand for [^d]Utu and [^d]Eš-tar, even though one might expect the *dingir* determinative, as *Pomponio – Xella* p. 235 ff. have it. Yet see already *Creat* pp. 189 and 201 (n. 27). See, further, below n. 88.

*** Feasible would also be the reading *ibassi/šši-ilu* (*NU*) [cf. n. 15].

ip-te-ma-lik in *ARET* IV # 6 r. III 1, same as in OAkk *ipte-il / -ummu* (*UM*) (*Gelb Glossary* p. 219).

⁹⁶ See *Creat* pp. 189 and 203 (n. 33).

⁹⁷ In *ib-lul-il* of *ARET* II # 4 XV 7 and *Bollettino* relating to the **lugal** *Mari^{ki}* in r. VII 2, 15, VIII 9, IX 8, v. I 9, II 12, in *ib-lul-ia* in *ARET* VIII # 542 19, as well as in *ib-lul-KA* [for ^dKA see *Deimel Panth²* p. 6 # 15,1.3 and *Panth* p. 153 ## 1626, 1643] in *MEE* 2 # 20 r. XI 12, *ARET* III ## 134 v. XI 3, 322 r. V 6', 512 I 1', *ARET* IV # 11 v. XII 8.

On account of *-u-* for the pres.-pret., *iblul* is part of *balalum* as to be understood through ## 98 and 0269 of *MEE* 4 [i.e., ≈ **nì-sa-rum**].* For the meanings “to pour out**”, “sprinkle, mix, confuse” and *iblul* with *il / il* as PN see *Gelb Glossary* p. 96, *AHw* pp. 97b f.

⁹⁸ “He rejoiced” as the hitherto assumedly unattested pres.-pret. G of *allalu* “shout, jubilate” etc. [yet see *Gelb Glossary* p. 40 vs *CAD* 1,1 pp. 331b f. and *AHw* p. 34b] *i-lul-in-ma-lik* “Malik’s eye rejoiced”, ‘a name given by a father proud of his new-born son’ [*Sollberger* p. 26] in *ARET* VIII # 541 1; further in *i-lul-šil-mimmi* (*ZA_x*)- *ma-lik* of *ARET* III 111 v. V 1, 134 v. X 5, 214 v.[?] I 1 [partly restored, yet safe], 231 v. I 2' [safe, though partly rest.], 328 II 1, 391 I 1', 467 r. II 6, 469 r. VI 2, 609 v. V 11', 636 v. II 5', 878 I 2', 888 IV 9', 894 I 1'. Cf. above n. 30.

⁹⁹ In *iq-na-da-ar* of *MEE* 2 ## 22 v. III 12, 37 r. III 10, *ARET* IV # 15 v. VII 3, and 8-times through *ARET* III p. 283, *iq-na-da-mu* of *ARET* II ## 4 IV 8, XV 5, 6 II 1, 14 IV 13, 25 II 5; *ARET* IV # 13 v, IV 11, and through *MEE* 1 p. 271, *MEE* 2 p. 344, and *ARET* III p. 283, *iq-na-ummu* (*UM*) in *ARET* II # 28 VI 10, *MEE* 1 # 6519 v. VII: “DN was / is jealous”.***

¹⁰⁰ *ikla* is attested through *ik-la-li-im* in *ARET* VIII # 514 3, to be derived “from *kalā'um* ‘to detain, keep’: Only with *li-im*.” (*Sollberger* p. 12). “to hold, hold onto” (*AHw* p. 428a 1)b) and “to keep in confinement, detain” and similarly (*CAD* 95 ff.).

¹⁰¹ Possibly “DN has created” as *Sollberger* (p. 25) suggests regarding *ARET* VIII # 526 22,16 even though the OAkk has this verb with the rather suitable meaning of “to build, to beget” and in non-hypocoristic form [*Gelb Glossary* pp. 97 f.]. However, one could also read *ib-ia* and compare this name with such as *ib-da-mu* in *ARET* IV # 17 r. I 2, *ib-na-im* *ARET* IV # 6

* It is not the one listed in *MEE* 4 # 1211 [≈ **gù-di-2**] nor does it correspond to **izi-šub** o.c. # 851 where the verb is to be read *palalum* (having its pret. on *-i-*) “to watch, guard”. Cf. *ibid.* *palahum* and *palaqum* q.v.

** Cf. Greek *Ζεύς* (resp. *ὁ θεός*) *ῥεῖ*.

*** One should recall the designation of Yahweh as *'ēl qannā'* (in Ex 20:5 et al.), Masor. Hebrew *qannā'* indicating the habitual character of Yahweh’s attitude and behaviour as the god of the addressee.

v. X 7, *ib-ba'al* (NE) o.c. # 11 r. VII 1, and *ib-^dša-ma-gan* ARET VIII # 541 42, 18.

¹⁰² Attested in *i-pù-ul-il* in MEE 1 # 1230 and *i-pù-ul-ia* of ARET VIII # 542 28 (XV) 2 “DN answered (the prayer of the mother)” [cf. AHw p. 56b 2) and CAD 1,2 pp. 162 f.]. According to MEE 4 # 072 *a-pá-lu-um* is supposed to have corresponded to Sumerian **eme ba-la** which could mean “to turn the speech”.

¹⁰³ For several attestations see Sollberger in ARET VIII pp. 27 f. and 12 and cf. foregoing notes 64 and 79.

¹⁰⁴ See *il-zi-ma-lik* in ARET VIII # 533 25:21, and *il-zi-da-mu* of MEE 1 ## 865, 1124, MEE 2 ## 34 v. II 6, 35 r. III 9, 36 r. VIII 4, and others, ARET II ## 4X 4, XV 4, 15 X 5, ARET VIII ## 525 13:19, 527 3:4, 533 59:23, 542 18:24, *il-zi-ba'al* (BE)* through MEE 1 # 725, and ARET III # 730 v. III 5, in hypocoristic employment in ARET III ## 61 IV 4, 240 I 1 and many others, according to AHw p. 548b meaning “he stuttered”, resp. sb. whose speech was impeded. More likely and suitable to its frequent employment in theophoric names is the meaning offered in CAD 9 p. 163a: “DN persisted” (in his advance on the mother of the person so named).

¹⁰⁵ The employment of the feminine gender does not mean that the person designated by a feminine name has always been a female. *Vice versa*, masculine forms may also relate to women, the Eblaitic dialect shares these phenomena with other Semitic languages and such of different character.

¹⁰⁶ In *tár-kab-da-mu* of ARET III # 410 v. III 2':4, ARET IV # 1 r. VIII 7 [= (34)], ARET VIII # 542 26:10; see also the subjunctive through note 154 and for the masculine equivalent above n. 23.

¹⁰⁷ In *tág-rí-iš-da-mu* of ARET IV # 1 r. VIII 8; for the masculine equivalent see n. 32.

¹⁰⁸ In *tap-tù-ra* of ARET III # 68 v. VI 5; fem. equivalent of *iptura* (see above n. 27).

¹⁰⁹ In hypocoristic *da₆-pù-ul* as fem equivalent to masc. *ipul* [see n. 102] in ARET III # 5 v. V 2'.** Cf. also below *da₅-pù-lu* through n. 158.

¹¹⁰ “She [the name-bearer’s mother] pays / paid attention to (sb.)” [cf. AHw p. 1323a], e.g., the god Damu, so in MEE 1 # 1964: *tá-tup-da-mu*, (Damu being indeclinable); for *tatup* as hypocoristic name see MEE 1 # 962, MEE 2 # 7 v. X 6, ARET IV # 22 v. IX 12, ARET VIII # 542 23:16. Cf. above note 73.

* For BE = Ba'al see already Pomponio – Xella pp. 369 f., 358.

** The use of *da₆* or *da₅* instead of Eblaitic *tá/ta* and/or *da* was not unusual (see, e.g. notes 111 and 113). For the poor differentiation of *d* and *t* see already the OAkk way of writing. See, further, Earl Dial pp. 223 f. (n. 66).

- ¹¹¹ See *tá-mur-lim* in *MEE* 1 # 890 and *da_s-mur-^dà-da* in *MEE* 2 # 28 r. I 2, v. II 3, *tá-mur-^dha-da** *ARET* VIII # 532 31:21, *tá-mur-ida* (*DA*)-*ibri* (*KU-LI*)** “she looks at the side of a friend” in *MEE* 1 # 6527, and in *ARET* VIII # 529 8: 29.
- ¹¹² See below notes 113, 148, and 156.
- ¹¹³ Regarding *taddi* as analogue to *i(d)di* [cf. through n. 47] see the haplographic *tá-dī-^dTU* [see, further, in n. 71] in *MEE* 1 # 775 as in Oakk (misunderstood in *Gelb Glossary* pp. 196-199), further, in hypocoristic *tá-dī* of *ARET* II # 30 X 16, *ARET* IV # 23 v. IV 7, *ARET* VIII # 524 19 (VIII):6, and as *da_s-dī* in *MEE* 2 # 32 v. IV 7 [for the employment of *da_s* see above n. 109*].
- ¹¹⁴ Since Oakk *tiamtum* “sea” and its later variations including also the DN fem. *tiamat* [cf. *AHw* pp 1353b f.] are known as Eblaitic also for designations of the ocean, some territory or place, and as DN in the form of *ti-’à/a-ma-tu(m)* as of *ARET* V ## 4 I 6 [≈ *MEE* 1 # 1632], 6 VII 2 and 3, X 4 [≈ *MEE* 1 # 1860], and *MEE* 1 # 6500-6501, one may wonder whether the variant *tāmtu* was involved in what has to be read as *tām-tá-ia* [of *MEE* 1 # 6527, *ARET* II ## 1 V 5, 30 III 5 (partly restored, but safe), X 10, *ARET* III ## 134 v. II 5’, 647 v. II 2’, *ARET* IV # 18 r. VII 12], as *tām-tá-il* [of *MEE* 1 ## 834 // 1365 (in the latter instance restored), *MEE* 2 ## 14 v. V 5, 25 r. II 6, 33 v. IX 5, *ARET* III ## 31 r. IV 10’, 155 II 3’, 470 r. III 10, 586 II 3’, *ARET* IV ## 16 r. IV 15, 17 r. VI 11], and, likewise *tām-tá-ab-ba* [in *MEE* 1 ## 834, 1365], and whether of such the form *tamta* represents a stative-perfective.

This is well possible, however, as far as the grammatical aspect is concerned, yet any use of a stative-perfective includes the assumption of *pairing* of the three gods then involved, i.e., of *Tiamat* with *Il* and *Ia*. Consequently, the combination of *Tiamat* (in the stative-perfective) with *Il* [not *Ilu*] and *Ia* would indicate two identifications: “*Tiamat* (= the Sea) is *Il*” (not: “a god”), and “*T.* is *Ia*”, resp. “*Abba*”.

Such identifications are questionable, though, with regard to the meaningfulness and validity of the claim involved. Surely, the deification of *Tiamat* is well attested (see the instances adduced as foregoing) and the casual application of *il* and/or *ilu* to feminine names in Eblaitic Akkadian has been as possible as in other Akkadian dialects and still other Semitic languages, and those of other peoples having come in contact therewith [cf. *Gröndahl PTU* p. 46 (§ 75), *Europa* pp. 76, 127], but for ^[d]*Ia* such employ-

* A dialectal variant of ^[d]*à-da*; in spite of its rather frequent occurrence in Eblaitic texts missing in *Pomponio – Xella*.

** This reading is confirmed in *MEE* 3 # 1061 where **ku-li** is equated with Eblaitic *la-ù-um*, the equivalent of Akkadian *lîmu*, Hebrew *l’ôm* etc.

ment is not known to me. Moreover, in *MEE* 4 # 64 *ti-’à-ma-tum* is equated with **ni-lu-lu** “chaos, crime, falsehood”. An identification of such with *il* and *ia* appears unfeasible in view of the usual assertions on the character of the latter.

It may have been problems such as this which caused doubts on the minds of others like *Pettinato* (*ArEbla* pp. 232, 249) who apparently considered DAMDA to stand for the verbal forms *támtá* and *tamṭa*. However, while there could seemingly be noted for the former as North-West Semitic cognate the verb *mataḥ* / *m^ctaḥ* “to extend, to stretch, hitch up, unhitch” (see, e.g., *Dalman Hwb* p. 259a, *Jastrow* p. 861) which has as its Akkadian equivalent *matahu(m)* with the meaning “to lift (up), carry, (re)move” (*CAD* 10,1 pp. 403-405, *AHw* p. 632) well suitable for theophoric names, one would have to find for an Eblaitic and Akkadian equation either a verb *matāhu(m)* or as its alternative such as *matā’um*, its last vowel being an *-a*, to allow for a 3rd s.f. of the pres.-pret. This is feasible, whereas no *maṭû(m)* could be involved, unless one would disregard its meanings in Akkadian, i.e., “to decrease” and “to be insignificant”, as senseless in this context and take recourse to still another shade of meaning, i.e., “to be missing”: “Il / Ia was missing, absent (when the child was born)” (cf. *CAD* 10,1 p. 429a).

Help is offered, in this situation, by Eblaitic *mata’um* on account of its parallel with *na-ša-tù* “the act of lifting up” and its use to explain Sumerian **igi-gar** and **kur-pad-na-rú** resp. **má-pad-na** for *ma-tá-ù si-kà-na-tim* [= *sikkannatim*: *AHw* 1041a] as of *MEE* 4 ## 166a,b and 145. Notwithstanding their employment for men the morphologically feminine names [cf. above n. 105] *tám-tá-il* and *tám-tá-ia* mean, then, “Il / Ia raises, carries, lifts”.

¹¹⁵ Of the pres.-preterit forms *tište* and *tišta*, here in theophoric personal names of feminine gender, i.e., *ti-iš-te-da-mu* of *MEE* 1 ## 1167, 1556, *ARET* III # 140 r. II 3, *ARET* IV ## 22 v. IX 8, 24 v. III 8, *tíš-tá-(AD-MU)* [see above n. 78] of *ARET* IV # 11 v. XI 11, and *tíš-tá-ma-lik* in *ARET* III ## 570 II 4', 584 I 2', the former has been assigned in *AHw* p. 1202b G 2) to *šatû(m)* “to drink”.

In view of the thought of children having been fathered by gods from the daughters of the land so common among Eblaites and their contemporaries, one might consider a connection with *šeṭû(m)* [*AHw* p. 1222a, *CAD* 17,2 p. 343] an alternative, however. Also with respect to *tíš-tá-[or ṭa-]um-mu (UM)* of *ARET* III # 792 this does still work, if one takes the relatively fluctuant character of assertions as to the generic status of deities in Eblaitic and some other texts from the Fertile Crescent and Turkey into account [cf. above notes 17 and 95].

- ¹¹⁶ For *tá/ti-hir-ma-lik* in *MEE* 2 # 19 v. IV 2, *ARET* III ## 91 III 2', 457 r. I 1, *MEE* 1 # 6301 see already *Earl Dial* p. 223 n. 66. With it goes *tá-hir-da-mu* in *ARET* III # 869 II 3'. See also above n. 82.
- ¹¹⁷ For this fem. see *ti-rí-iq-da-mu* of *MEE* 2 # 22 r. III 2 and the following lines. Cf. above n. 79.
- ¹¹⁸ Fem. of *išma* [cf. n. 93]: see *tíš-má-^dUTU* of *MEE* 2 # 39 v. III 11, *ARET* IV # 20 v. II 3, *tíš-má-da-mu* in *MEE* 2 # 7 v. XI 4, 19 v. X 20, *ARET* III ## 3 r. VII 7' # 1 r. VIII 19, *tíš-má-sí-piš*,* as alternate of *tíšma-^dUTU* in *ARET* III ## 144 II 12", 527 v. V 14', VI 5', 722 v. II 6, *ARET* IV ## 3 r. V 23, 22 v. IX 13, *Culto* # 2 r. IX 28, *tíš-má-ti-lu* *ARET* III # 410 v. II 4.
- ¹¹⁹ In *tá-kùn-da-mu* in *ARET* VIII 532 48:16 and *ti-ku-li-im* listed in *MEE* 1 as # 712, attested in *MEE* 2 # 2 r. X 13, v. VIII 3, 39 r. V 19, *ARET* III # 772 III 1, *ARET* IV ## 5 v. I 6, 6 v. X 16; = fem. of *ikun*; for the use of *ku'ānum* see above n. 71.
- ¹²⁰ In *da₅-túr-^dUTU* of *ARET* IV # 20 v. V 10, to be understood in the light of n. 12 and *Gelb Glossary* p. 293. As hypocoristic name attested through *tá-tur₇* in *MEE* 2 # 9 r. III 3, but not in *DA/TA-TU-úr* = *da-du-úr* of *ARET* III # 2'.
- ¹²¹ The character of *inud* as adduced and translated above in n. 38 is determined by this corresponding feminine form showing that the last syllable *-ud* (in the text editions read as *-ut*) cannot indicate in this context the feminine form of the stative-perfective. Hypocoristic *ti-nu-ud* is attested through *MEE* 1 # 1552 and *MEE* 2 # 42 v. I 4.
- ¹²² As *i-mu-da-mu* is understood as the result of assimilation (see above n. 37) so the hitherto enigmatic *da-mu-da-mu* in *ARET* III # 460 v. VI 4'. The name is to be read *tá-mu-da-mu* = *tamud-Damu*.
- ¹²³ See *ti-bí-ib-damu* "Damu is/was clean" (sacred) [cf. *AHW* 180b f. G1], *GAG* p. 20*] in *MEE* 2 ## 12 r. III 3', V 1. If *tibib* stands haplographic for *tibbib*, it may belong to the pres.-fut.
- ¹²⁴ In *tár-ib-da-mu* of *MEE* 2 # 19 v. VI 1, *ARET* III # 140 r. II 2, *ARET* IV # 22 v. IX 7; for its masc. equivalent see above n. 80.
- ¹²⁵ See *ti-in-da-mu* in *ARET* III # 770 III 3' as fem. equivalent of *i'in* (cf. above n. 42).
- ¹²⁶ Attested through *ti-rí-in-da-mu* in *MEE* 2 # 48 r. VIII 1, *ARET* III # 507 I 2'; = fem. of *irin*; see above n. 84.
- ¹²⁷ With suff. pers. 1st s. dat. in *ti₉-sí-ma-ah* / *-a-hu* of *MEE* 1 # 1045, *ARET* IV # 3 r. XI 2, *ti₉-sí-ma-ia* in *ARET* III ## 23 r. I 2', 134 v. IV 2', 861 II 4', 925 I 2', *ARET* IV # 13 v. XII 16, in *ti₉-sí-ma-lik* in *ARET* IV ## 16 r. IX 18, 23 v. VI 4, and in *ti₉-[s_l]-ma-[x]* of *ARET* III # 5 I 1'. To these belong

* *Vs* Gelb's *ZI.KIR* (*TI* p. 20), Edzard's (*ARET* II p. 15), *Sollberger's* (*ARET* VIII p. 11) and others *zi-kir* for *sipiš*.

also *tá-sí-ma-ad* (= *tasima-addu/-abba*) in *MEE* 1 # 849, *ARET* III ## 61 I 3', V 10', 401 v. IV 6', *ARET* IV ## 8 r. III 8, 19 v. I 12, *tá-sí-ma-du* = *tasim(a)* + *addu* or, less likely, *tasima*-^[d]*DU* of *ARET* III # 734 v. II 11', *ARET* IV ## 1 r. II 7, 11 r. VI 13, 13 v. X 18, 22 r. II' 3, and *tá-sí-ma-AD.UM* (= *tasima* + *addu* < \approx *abba*> -*ummu*) of *ARET* III # 908 II 5' (partly yet safely restored). Here *ummu(UM)* “mother” is provided with the appellative or title “father”, while in *a-du-ummu(MU)* of *ARET* III # 440 r. IV 2' and *a-du-mu* (dito: *addu-ummu*) of *MEE* 2 # 22 [= *ARET* I # 17] r. V 10, *ARET* III ## 90 III 2', 134 v. IV 1', 322 r. VI 5, 919 v. I 2', *ARET* IV # 15 r. IX 13 *Addu/Abba*, i.e. the “father”, is called “mother”. Regarding the use of *um-mu(MU)* in the masculine gender see above n. 17, and for the masculine equivalent of *ti/tasim* see n. 67.

¹²⁸ Fem. to *iša* [see above n. 55]. Both forms, i.e., the masc. and the fem. either belong to *a/ešû(m)* “confuse, trouble” hitherto attested since Obab (*CAD* 4 p. 378b, *AHW* p. 259b), whose preterit has as final vowel -i, however, or they are based on the root known as *yš'* from Hebrew and Moabite [*HAL* p. 427b, *Gesenius-Buhl* p. 891] which would also explain the final vowel -a as reflecting the pharyngal '. The theophoric names in the feminine gender are:

ti-ša-li-im in *MEE* 1 # 1835, *MEE* 2 # 40 r. X 7, *ARET* II ## 27a III 2, VI 3, *ARET* III ## 277 II 4, 340 r. II 4', 460 v. V 7', VI 7', *ARET* IV # 9 r. IX 6;
ti-ša-hum in *ARET* III # 74 III 3', *ARET* IV # 23 v. I 13;
ti-ša-ilu(NU) [see above n. 78] of *ARET* IV # 3 r. VIII 15;
ti-ša-šil-nu “our protection, protector helps” in *ARET* III # 377 v. III 1.

¹²⁹ Fem. of *igi* (as in n. 59) attested through *ti-gi*-^d*UTU* in *ARET* IV # 3 r. IV 13 and *tá-gi*-^d*UTU* *ARET* VIII 533 14:30.

¹³⁰ In *ti-lí-šil-ša* “her protector / protectress arose, appeared” (fem of *ili* [see n. 60]) in *ARET* IV # 10 r. V 8, *ti-li-li-im* in *MEE* 1 # 1742 [cf. for *elû(m)* *AHW* pp. 206b f. and *Eblaitica Do*].

¹³¹ See *tá-lik-ia* in *ARET* VIII # 533 8:13.

¹³² As finite verb in *ARET* V # 4 II 7. Cf. above n. 129.

¹³³ If not dialectal for the 3rd s.m. [see below notes 134 ff.]. See *ar-ši* / -*šil*-*šè-a-ha/-ah/lu* in *MEE* 1 ## 831, 866, 929, 1456, 757, 876, 960, in *MEE* 2 p. 337a, *ARET* II p. 104, *ARET* III p. 262, *ARET* IV pp. 234 ff., *ARET* VIII p. 17, *ar-šè-ti-lu* [see above n. 48] in *Culto* # 3 v. V 12,* as well as hypocoristic *ar-šil*-*šè* in *ARET* III ## 322 r. VI 7, 329 III 3', 493 r. VI 2 [partly restored], 127 IV 5', *ARET* VIII 533 34: 11, *MEE* 2 # 8 v. I 8. For the corresponding Oakk forms see *Gelb Glossary* p. 236 and *Stamm* p. 128.

* Fairly often nominative forms are offered where one would expect an accusative as direct object; they indicate the bearer of the name as such.

¹³⁴ *amur* may stand for the first person meaning “I see, behold” in the following theophoric names serving for confession [cf. *Names* n. 54], the deities being adduced in the accusative case as direct object:

a-mur-da-mu of *MEE* 1 ## 724 f., 827, 6519 r. VII, *MEE* 2 ## 2 r. I 4, 12 r. VIII 3, 40 r. VI 2, *ARET* III ## 56 r. II 2', 111 v. IV 2, 203 V 4', 628 V 6', 728 III 1', 762 II 6', 795 II 6', 941 II 5', *ARET* IV ## 5 r. I 11, 8 r. IV 7, 9 r. I 8 [partly rest., yet safe], 13 r. V 5, 22 v. III 3, 23 r. IX 13, *a-mur-li-im* in *MEE* 2 ## 22 r. IV 8, 37 v. IV 12, *ARET* III ## 635 v. V 5', 693 I 3', 940 III 12', *ARET* IV # 15 r. VII 1, *a-mur-il* of *MEE* 2 ## 22 r. I 7.

This interpretation seemingly suits to the one offered by Stamm (pp. 86-90, 183 f.) whose samples should be carefully examined in the light of the variations having become known before and subsequent to the publication of his outstanding work now more than half a century old, and which have gradually gained their contours since.

Similarly, the 1st person s.c. may have been meant when the ventive and the subjunctive were used. However, in view of other words having the preformative *a-* for the 3rd person s.m., it appears much more likely that the combinations showing the employment of *amur* with divine names such as cited would better be translated *per analogiam* through “*Damu/Lim/Il* saw recognised (perhaps: the mother of the person so named)”, and one should have it understood in the light of assertions such as referred to in notes 33 and 39.

¹³⁵ For *adul* as 3rd s.m. see above n. 76, especially in view of the subjunctive thereof (see n. 151), yet one cannot rule out the possibility of its employment in the 1st s.c. Both said subjunctive form and the use of *dālum* in the first person s.c. of the pres.-pret. could allude to restlessness of the child in its mother's womb.

¹³⁶ In *áš-má-si-piš* [as response to *ibbi-sipiš*; see also its counterpart in the 3rd s.f. through n. 118; possible is also *eš₄-má-sipiš*, however, as dialectal variant for the 3rd s.m. [see n. 93 and regarding the considerable variation between *iš*, *eš*, and *áš* *RG* 2 pp. 18 f.] in *MEE* 1 # 773 [fem.], *Culto* # 3 v. VI 9 f. [masc.].

¹³⁷ Not impossible as a first person relating either to the bearer of the name or his/her mother “I turn to, care” or, as appears to be more likely, a dialectal form of the 3rd s.m., both being feasible with respect to *a-túb-ba'al*(BE) [missing in *Pomponio – Xella* p. 369], *a-tup-da-mu*, and *a-túp-ia^{ki}* (see n. 73), remotely being also possible *atup-ummu* (see note 145) whereas for *a-tù-pá* one should turn to n. 73 also.

¹³⁸ *ì-rí-ba-a* in *MEE* 1 # 5046 represents a hypocoristic dual relating to the parents of the individual so named or, as is less likely because of the last instance adduced below, it is a 3rd pl. fem + pron. suff. 1st sing. used for

designation of a place or as a territorial name referring to a person so called; see TM.75.G.4392 IV 4 and TM 75. G. 4422 I 3 (= *MEE* 1 ## 3267-3348 and 3350-3454), *ARET* III ## 311 III 1', 467 r. VI 10', 595 IV 5', and, presumably, the same written as *ì-rí-ba*^{ki} in *ARET* III # 723 r. II 4. See n. 66, 80 and 140.

¹³⁹ Hypocoristic “they (the gods) replaced” [cf. above n. 66] in *MEE* 1 # 1011, *ARET* II # 6 VI 5.

¹⁴⁰ See *i-rí-bù* in *ARET* III # 467 v. VI 11, *ARET* IV # 1 r. II 24 and cf. above n. 80.

¹⁴¹ Attested through *i-rí-qù* in *ARET* III ## 5 v. III 7', 82 IV 2, 420 r. II 5', 663 r. II 1, 942 II 3', 959 v. V 7, *ARET* IV ## 5 v. VIII 9, 13 v. II 10. Cf. above n. 79.

¹⁴² Parsed in n. 66. Attestations in *MEE* 1 ## 700, 1539 as well as through *MEE* 2 p. 346a, *ARET* IV p. 252, *ARET* II p. 108, *ARET* III p. 286, *ARET* VIII p. 28 [in the latter three volumes adduced by mistake as *ìr-ni-ba* instead of *ìr-i-ba*, cf. *Gelb OAWG* p. 82].

¹⁴³ See above n. 138.

¹⁴⁴ For the explanation of this subjunctive in elliptic use see *Creat* p. 199, n. 18. To the instance there adduced add *ARET* III # 201 3', *ARET* IV ## 7 r. X 15, 11 r. VIII 3, 12 r. VII 15, 15 r. I 7.

¹⁴⁵ In *i-tù-pù* of *ARET* IV # 11 v. XIII 9, *ARET* III # 860 v. V 18 [partly restored]. Possibly also *ì-tù-pu_x* for what has been read by Pettinato and Pomponio as *NI-du-KA* in *MEE* 2 # 25 v. III 4, especially, since *a-tù-pù-ummu(UM)*^{ki} of *ARET* IV # 2 v. V 23* has to be interpreted, as it seems, as dialectal variant, i.e., “(land of) Atuppu-Ummu”; *atuppu-ummu* = “he <the bearer of the name> for whom Ummu cares”. See also *a-tù-pù*^{ki} in *MEE* 1 # 4139, *ARET* IV # 19 v. IV 16, *ARET* VIII 527 16:3.

¹⁴⁶ In *ARET* III # 361 v. IV 4': “he who moved (in his mother’s womb)” or “he who moves (is nimble)”. Cf. notes 38, 121.

¹⁴⁷ Strengthening the argument in n. 71 regarding the true nature of *i-gún* in *i-gún-li-im*, i.e. that it is = *i-ku_x-un*, similarly it must be read in the subjunctive of *ARET* III # 670 III 3', and the writing *i-gu-ìa* in *ARET* III # 531 34:5 is merely a mode of writing and the use of *igun-ìa* stands for *i-ku₈-un-ìa*.

¹⁴⁸ Because of *i-dì-in* etc. [see notes 47 f.] not *i-ti-nu* “(DN) with us”, but *i-dì-nu* is to be understood as being elliptic for *šū iddinu* “he (sb) who gives/gave” as to be inferred by analogy from *Gelb OAWG* p. 179 and *Glossary* pp. 196 ff. Attestations in *MEE* 1 ## 1183, 6519 r. VI, *ARET* III ## 1 IV 7', 82 I 1', *ARET* IV # 12 r. VIII 16 *ARET* VIII # 521 13:15. Comparable is *a-dì-nu*^{ki} in *MEE* 1 # 208 in relation to *a-dì-in*^{ki} mentioned in *MEE* 2 # 14 v. IV 9, *ARET* III 31 r. I 9', 935 I 3'.

- ¹⁴⁹ Hypocoristic as *a-mu-ru*₁₂ in *ARET* III # 160 V 4'. As a name it is explained as 3rd s.m. rather than as 1st s.c. It then means "he who sees, is hawk-eyed" or perhaps, though less likely, "it was him (DN) who recognised (the mother)". Cf. notes 111 and 134.
- ¹⁵⁰ See *a-du-ku*_{8/-ku} "he <the person so named> (is one) who smites, a killer, defeats, is (a) victor" [cf. *AHw* p. 152: 2)b), *CAD* 3 pp. 35-42], attested in *ARET* II # 32 VI 2, *ARET* III # 606 I 3', *ARET* IV # 1 v. VI 13, *MEE* 2 ## 7 r. XIII 13, 17, 11 r. II 6. Cf. n. 75.
- ¹⁵¹ While a reading *a-du-LU* "abundance is Addu (Adad)" would seemingly make good sense, I prefer to understand this syllabic sequence as a verbal form in line with those adduced in notes 76 and 135 as well as the infinitive *dalum* of *MEE* 4 p. 257 # 509 and consider it a PN *a-du-lu* with attestations in *MEE* 2 ## 20 r. III 1, v. VI 6, *ARET* III ## 416 IV 4', 593 II 3', 609 v. I 6', *ARET* IV ## 4 r. VIII 13, 6 r. VII 9, X 11, 11 r. X 14, 15 v. IX 9, 25 v. IV 9, *ARET* VIII 523 28 (xiii) 2. The territorial or place name *adulu*^{ki} of *MEE* 1 # 6520 r. IX then offers a reference to an individual.
- ¹⁵² For *i-da-ù* see *ARET* IV # 2 v. VIII 6. Cf. notes 78 and 157.
- ¹⁵³ Cf. notes 23, 106, and 154.
- ¹⁵⁴ For *tár-kab-bù* see *Culto* ## 3 r. IX 28, X 4, 10, 15.
- ¹⁵⁵ Attested as *tár-bù* [as read in *MEE* 2 p. 351 vs *tar*²-*bù* adduced in *MEE* 2 # 33 XI 9] "she who grew up" or similarly (< *tarbi* + -*u*).*
- ¹⁵⁶ While the refutation in *Earl Dial* p. 223 f. n. 66 of Pettinato's and Müller's suggestions holds valid and, further, the explanation of *tidinu* and *tidina* as noun resp. stative-perfective remains still possible, there is another, even more likely option to understand these words, i.e., to consider their forms as the products of haplography: *ti-dì-na* may represent a 3rd s.f. of *nadanum* + pron suff. dativi for the 1st s.f., whereas *ti-dì-nu* would be the fem. analogue to *iddinu* [cf. above n. 148].
- ¹⁵⁷ Regarding the possible reading *tá-dû* see n. 152.
- ¹⁵⁸ Through *da*₅-*pù-lu* in *ARET* IV # 10 v. III 15 (cf. n. 34, 102, 109): "(it was) she (the mother of the individual so named) who answered".
- ¹⁵⁹ Elliptic *tár-du* meaning "(it was) she" i.e., the mother of the bearer of this name *or*, if the latter was meant, "he who was/is suitable, convenient, capable" in *ARET* III # 670 III 2'. See above n. 45 regarding *irdi* Cf. *AHw* p. 968.
- ¹⁶⁰ See *tá-ru*₁₂-*bù* in *ARET* IV # 12 v. V 5. Cf. n. 70.

* On account of this feminine *tarbû* one might look for a masculine equivalent in *ir-bù-ga-ma-al* of *MEE* 2 # 40 v. IV 1, but as such this name appears inexplicable. As subjunctive, if so understood, *ir-bù* could not conceivably have *gamal* as subject. Consequently, one should read *èr-bù-ga-ma-al* "gift of Gamal" [cf. *AHw* p. 233 and above n. 32].

- ¹⁶¹ In *a-tù-pù* of *MEE* 2 # 17 v. XI 11, *ARET* # 25 r. V 4, and in *a-tù-pù^{ki}* of *ARET* IV # 19 v. IV 16, i.e., a place or area named after a man “Atupu” (= (it is) he who cares”. Cf. n. 145.
- ¹⁶² The ventive in *a-mu-ra** has been attested very often, so in *MEE* 1 ## 758, 876, 4984, *MEE* 2 ## 20 r. II 12, 22 r. VI 5, v. V 10, 25 r. I 7, 29 r. III 14, X 11, 33 r. III 9, VI 1, v. II 4, *ARET* III ## 196 r. II 9, 232 III 2', 470 r. I 2, 480 IV 1, 495 r. III 4, 887 IV 4', *ARET* IV ## 12 r. I 6, 16 r. I 15, III 18, V 13, XI 8, 10, v. I 6. It is a hypocoristic name and seemingly means “he / I became aware of (DN)”.
- ¹⁶³ Contrary to von Soden’s claim (in *Akk. + Ebl.* pp. 20 f.) “... die Neubildung des akkadischen *t*-Perfekts *iptaras* ist in Ebla nicht bezeugt” and his assumption (in *Ebla* 1975-1985 pp. 79 f.) of the mere existence of a “*t*-Stamm-Verbalform” instead *inter alia* in *ip-ta-ra-ZU*, **the so-called *t*-perfect was used in Eblaïtic texts**, even though less frequently than other tenses, e.g. the present-preterit, and it remains a matter of further investigation to look into the cause(s) for its employment. *ip-tá-ra-ZU* is to be read *ip-tá-ra-sú* and stands for *iptaras* + the pron. suff. 3rd s.m. “he (the god) has sorted him (the son prior to his birth) out” or the like [cf. *AHw* p. 831a: 3)] in *MEE* 2 # 40 r. IX 11. A different matter is Gelb’s claim [*LdE* pp. 36 f.] to the existence of an Eblaïtic perfect ending on *-a*. See, however, below concerning the perfective-stative. Regarding his assumption of a “development of the BT stem into a tense”, i.e. the “*t*-perfect”, see *ibid.* p. 39.
- ¹⁶⁴ Vs von Soden (*l.c.* [in foregoing n. 163] in *ik/iq-tá-ra-ab* of *ARET* III # 178 v. IV 10', with its fem. equivalent to be seen through n. 179. The vocalisation for this form of the perfect suggests its relation to Eblaïtic **qarabum* ≈ Ass. *qarābu(m)* = Bab. *qerēbu(m)*, showing the archaic form noted in *AHw* p. 915b (cf. also *CAD* 13 p. 231a subsect. 2).
- ¹⁶⁵ The comment in *Creat* p. 196 n. 3 re. *ip/ibtarak/q* is to be altered to the extent that due to the 3rd pl.m. *ip/b-tá-ra-ku_s/-qu₆* [see n. 181] the meaning which was adduced as the first one for *ip-tá-ra-ak* cannot stand.
- ¹⁶⁶ *ig-dal-tá²-ri-iš* in *ARET* III # 626 II 2': perf. in analogy to *igriš* (see above through notes 32 and 107).
- ¹⁶⁷ *ik-tá-bít*: “he (the child) has been heavy” in *ARET* II # 19 VI 5. Other than in OAkk, the employment of the sign *be* for *bad* and *bit* has been common for Eblaïte texts.
- ¹⁶⁸ See hypocoristic *iš-tá-al* in *MEE* 2 # 20 r. II 9, *ARET* II # 3 VIII 3, *ARET* III ## 31 r. VI 1', possibly also in the partly restored text 206 v. III 6'.

* Apparently, one has to consider the suffixed *-a* as indication of an original ventive (or allative) [cf. above notes 33 and 134] without any particular syntactic significance [cf. *GAG* §§ 42 g and 82].

Regarding von Soden's (*Ebla 1975-1985* p. 79) and Krebernik's (*ARES* 1 pp. 58, 67) misreading *iš-tá(da)-lá* resp. *iš-tá-mah* in *ARET* III # 87 II 6' see below n. 170.

iš-tá-al may be understood to have been pronounced with -' and without; the former of these alternatives appearing more likely in view of the present-preterit *iš-'al* (see n. 62).

¹⁶⁹ *Vs von Soden Ebla 1975-1985* p. 79, *Krebernik Ares I* pp. 58, 66, read in *ARET* IV # 6 r. IX 6 *il-tá-ma-hu* = *iltam* + *ahu* "the brother has embraced, fought". Cf. note 92.

¹⁷⁰ Sic! *Not* *iš-tá-lá* "he has enquired with regard to me" for which the last sign would probably be *-la*; but "he (DN) has captivated (the mother of the person so named)" in *ARET* III # 87 II 6'. For the feasibility of this shade of meaning see the chances for variations of *šalalu(m)* through *AHw* p. 1142a, *CAD* 17,1 pp. 196 ff.

¹⁷¹ In *ir-tá-dī-ma* (= *irtadi* + affirmative *-ma*) in *ARET* III # 178 v. XIII 10': "he (DN) has accompanied" of *ré-du-um* [*≈ ki-za* (see *PSD* 2 <1984> p. 135) in *MEE* 4 # 838] which apparently offers the shade of meaning of the bi-consonantal basis *rd* retained also in Akkadian (*w*)*arādu(m)*, Hebrew *yārad* "to descend, come down" *et al.*, and in common Akkadian *redū(m)* by form and origin being identical with the Eblaitic verb. See, further, the stat.-perf. forms *reda* and *redut*.

¹⁷² While one could read the n.pr. *ir-da-huš* in *ARET* III ## 140 r. IV 6 and 504 II 2' as *ēr-da* + *huš* and have the first member as stat.-perf. of *erdu* "slave, worshipper" [cf. n. 45]; the second part of the connection then relating to ^[d]*Huš* [cf. n. 30 no. 4)], the frequency of PNs employing the verb *rahašum* [see n. 30] suggests the 3rd s.m. perf.

¹⁷³ Hypocoristic *ir-tá-piš* in *ARET* II # 14 IX 11: "he (the bearer of the name while he had still been in his mother's womb) has extended, spread, stretched out" [cf. *AHw* p. 955, *CAD* 14 pp. 153 ff.]. See also *rupušlim* through *MEE* 1 # 929 *MEE* 2 p. 350 *et al.*

¹⁷⁴ See hypocoristic *ir-tá-aš* of *ARET* IV # 3 r. IX 11 and above n. 61.

¹⁷⁵ Other than *iš-má* (cf. n. 93), mostly in hypocoristic use: "he (the god) has heard"; rather common, so in *ARET* IV ## 1 r. V 13, 7 v. III 10, 10 r. XIII 10, 16 r. XII 4, 22 r. V' 5, *ARET* VIII ## 527 15:16, 531 54:9, 540 5:(VI) 1, 6:10; see, further, *MEE* 2 p. 347a and *ARET* III p. 287. However, not only through *iš-tá-má* but also through what is shown by its subject to be a dialectal variant or the 1st sing., i.e. through *áš-tá-ma-^dku-ra* in *ARET* VIII ## 525 9:12 and 527 28:22, the character of forms with inverted ("infix") *-t-* as Eblaitic "T-perfect" is obvious.

¹⁷⁶ Through hypocoristic *il-tá-kà-áš/-káš* "he has whispered" in *ARET* III ## 44 II 2', 7 II 10', 93 III 5', *ARET* IV ## 10 r. VII 16, 11 v. VII 11. By the

side of *ilkuš* [see n. 29], *iltakaš* is one of the analogues to assertions in the pres.-pret. of the same verbal root. Cf. above n. 166 and Akkadian PNs such as *imgur*-^d*Enlil* and *imtagar*-^d*Šamaš* [*Stamm* p. 192].*

177 Apart from the questions one may raise regarding the semantic standing, the form *i-tá-ra-ak/-aq* referred to above in note 8 could stand by haplography for the “*t*-perfect”, provided the form listed as *i-da-ra-gu* in *Krebernig ARES* 1 p. 58 could be substantiated.

178 Occurring in *iš-tá-pa-suinul-nanna* (*MÁ*) “the moon was silent” (at the time of birth) of *ARET* III ## 229 I 1', 551 I 2'. While *ištapa* could also stand for the pres.-fut. of the Gt-stem [cf. *AHw* p. 1177b, *CAD* 17,1 pp. 490b f.], one should see for **má** as “(god) moon” in Ebla texts *išra-nanna* /-su'in(*MÁ*) in *MEE* 1 # 4984 *vis à vis* its analogues through *Three Books* pp. 140-142. **má** is missing in *Pomponio – Xella*, see, however, for ^d**má** Sin as “(deified) boat” *Deimel Panth* p. 172 # 2054, *Panth*² p. 33a, *Tallquist Epith* p. 360.

179 The name of **dam** *ti-ik/q-tá-ra-ab* [analogous to the masc. referred to in n. 164] is offered in *ARET* III # 112 II 4'.

180 Feminine analogue to *iltam* [see n. 169 and references *ibid.*] in hypocoristic *tal-tám* of *MEE* 2 # 22 r. V 15, *tal-tá-ma-hu* < *taltam* + *ahu* of *ARET* IV # 1 r. V 9, and *tal-tám-ma-lik* in *MEE* ## 19 r. VII 10, 25 r. XI 2, *ARET* III ## 261 II 3', 743 IV 6', 860 v. II 6', 888 IV 7', *ARET* IV # 12 v. I 14.

181 In *MEE* 2 # 7 r. XIV 14. See above n. 165.

182 Hypocoristic *ib-tá-u₄/u₉* “they (some gods) wished (the child)” in *ARET* III ## 46 II 2', 82 IV 1, *ARET* IV # 23 r. X 11. See above n. 85.

183 *OAWG* pp. 146-153, 166 f. and cf. *Earl Dial* p. 218 n. 29.

184 They do often coincide, indeed.

184a Their syntactical employments forbid the assumption that they were fore-runners of the Aramaic status emphaticus as some learned colleagues have suggested.

185 The latter being considerably outnumbered by the former. See *Creat* p. 192 ff.

186 For details see *Creat* pp. 186 ff.

186a “Your [f.] protection [i.e. a deity] is/was on guard” in *ARET* III # 136 II 3'. Also in *har-da-ma-lik o.c.* # 160 V 3. Cf. *AHw* p. 322b, *CAD* 6, p. 88.

187 In *ARET* II # 34 IV 2; dito as hypocoristic *pá-ha-da* in *ARET* VIII ## 524 32:29, 538 27:7. Cf. *AHw* p. 810a. This should also explain the somewhat ambiguous use of *pahad* in Hebrew (see *HAL* pp. 871 f.).

* Regarding the Eblaitic $\sqrt{lkš}$ instead of the $\sqrt{lhš}$ as attested for Akkadian dialects, though not in the G-stem [cf. *CAD* 9 pp. 40 f., *AHw* p. 528a, *GAG* pp. 26, 4**], Ugaritic, Hebrew, Mandaic, and others, see for analogy n. 28, and for the Semitic situation of later times *Dombrowski Mani* through note 100.

- ¹⁸⁸ < *kataba* + *An* “An has noted” or “An is the scribe/registrar” in *MEE* 2 # 47 r. III 6, *ARET* III # 970 I 3 [partly restored, yet safe], cf. n. 31.
- ¹⁸⁹ “He picks, picked”, seemingly relating to the child in *MEE* 1 ## 758, 4920, *MEE* 2 ## 11 r. V 1, 19 v. X 15, 25 r. VIII 5, v. III 15, *ARET* II 13 XII 5, *ARET* VIII 541 43:4, and through *ARET* III p. 262. Cf. *AHw* p. 104a no. 3, *CAD* 2 p. 97 f.
- ¹⁹⁰ “He has joined, gathered” in *ARET* III ## 5 v. I 2, V 10 [restored, yet unsafe]; cf. above note 6a.
- ¹⁹¹ “He was, became thin” in TM.76 G.37 listed through *MEE* 1 # 6273-6274, *MEE* 2 # 7 r. XI 2; cf. *AHw* p. 907a, *CAD* 13 p. 163b.
- ¹⁹² “He is overwhelming” or “successful” in *MEE* 2 # 41 r. VII 12, *ARET* III # 682 r. II 8, by the side of *ik-šu₁₁-ud* in *MEE* 2 ## 2 v. IX 12, 7 r. XIII 14, 32 r. II 12, 39 v. X 9, 40 v. VI 3, *ARET* III ## 134 v. X 3, 859 v. III 3', 964 r. IV 1, and the participle *kà-ši-du* in *ARET* III ## 4 III 5', 261 IV 8', 469 r. I 9, 562 r. IV 4', 654 I 3'. See, however, the OAkK statives *kà-ši-id* and *kà-ša₁₀-ad* (*Gelb Glossary* p. 154, *OA WG* p. 176).
- ¹⁹³ “Trapper” or “evildoer” in *MEE* 2 # 2 v. VII 21, *ARET* VIII ## 524 32:27, 526 50:9, 527 23:6 and 29:6 and 55:7, 531 46:27 and 48:9, 540 16:2 (cf. *AHw* p. 305, *CAD* 6 p. 16; also in *dur-ha-bil-su/sú* in *ARET* VIII ## 523 33: (XVI) 14, 37: (XVIII) 13, 531 51:2. For ^[d]DUR see below n. 202.
- ¹⁹⁴ “A killer is he” in *MEE* 1 # 867; cf. *AHw* pp. 1126b f., *CAD* 17 pp. 66 ff., likewise, originally, as it appears, a participle.
- ¹⁹⁵ “Registrar is he” in *MEE* 2 # 21 v. III 3, *ARET* III # 59 III 7. Since there is no ending for *šaṭir*, it can scarcely have been used as a participle or have been identical with *šaṭṭiru* “scribe” [*CAD* 17,2 p. 242a] resp. “*schreibfreudig*” [*Haw* p. 1205a], while it appears to have had an active meaning as a stative-perfective.
- ¹⁹⁶ “Helper is he” in *MEE* 1 # 4939, *ARET* III ## 17 II 3', 61 I 4', 466 r. VII 13, *ARET* IV ## 1 r. II 9, 8 r. III 11, 20 r. III 10; see *CAD* 6 p. 166b., other than *Stamm* has it on p. 215; cf. *AHw* p. 339a.
- ¹⁹⁷ As hypocoristic and theophoric n.pr. in *ARET* III ## 799 v. I 3, 860 v. IX 5', and by *a-ha-ra-ma-lik* in *ARET* III # 239 v. I 6: Malik “was late” (at the time of birth?); cf. *AHw* p. 18a, *CAD* 1,1 p. 170.
- ¹⁹⁸ Attested through *ah-ra-ma-lik* “the progenitor² is Malik” in *ARET* II # 14 VI 10, *ARET* III ## 12 IV 1, 18 I 1, *et al.* Cf. *CAD* 1,1 pp. 193 ff., *AHw* p. 21.
- ¹⁹⁹ “He shows respect, is in awe” in *ARET* III # 7 II 7.
- ²⁰⁰ “He became new, renewed himself” (as in *CAD* 4 pp. 30b f., *AHw* p. 186b f.) [cf. the names *Renatus*, *Renata*; for “renewal” of deities, temples, and others in views held in Mesopotamia see *Stamm* p. 62]; very common, so in *MEE* 1 # 6519 (r. IV, V), *MEE* 2 # 40 r. IV 12, *ARET* II # 12 II 4, *ARET*

III ## 36 r. III 3, 105 V 3, 107 r. III 3, v. VI 7, 108 VII 4, 143 r. II 2, 459 r. VIII 11, v. I 9, 584 IV 6, 613 II 3, 702 II 3, 940 IV 1; see, further *ARET* IV p. 232. Dito³: the form *é-da-šĒ* in *ARET* III ## 464 III 10, 36 v. II 3, *ARET* IV through p. 232, and *é-daš-šĒ* in *ARET* III # 458 r. IV 10, since *šè* ≈ *ša* [*Borger AbZ* p. 188]. Otherwise *é-da(š)-šè* could be a dialectal variant.

²⁰¹ *'a-lik* = “goer, walker, living person” (see *CAD* 1,1 pp. 300 ff., *AHw* pp. 31b ff.) in *ARET* III ## 333 r. II 4', 402 II 2', 457 r. III 1, 465 v. II 7', 468 r. IX 1, 588 r. I 2, 602 II 2', 687 II 2'. See the imperative *lik* through *ARET* VIII p. 29.

²⁰² In *kum-a-pil-šim* of *MEE* 2 # 27 r. I 4 “[^d]Kum answered (and satisfied) her” [cf. *AHw* pp. 56 f., *CAD* I,2 pp. 155 ff., *Stamm* pp. 213 f.], *dur-'a-pil-šu₁/sú* “[^d]Dur answered him” [cf. *Deimel Panth* p. 107 # 791, *Panth*² p. 31 # 174] in *MEE* 2 # 7 r. VII 18, *ARET* III # 692 v. III 3', *a-'a-pil* in *ARET* III # 38 r. II 4' “Abba answered”; *kum-a-pil* [not *kum-a-bi*] in *MEE* 2 # 8 r. III 4, *ARET* III ## 5 v. IV 11', 139 v. I 5', *ì-lum-'a-pil* in *MEE* 2 # 21 r. I 4, *hum-ma-pil* [cf. *Earl Dial* pp. 218, 223 (notes 29 and 64)], *MEE* 2 # 22 r. IX 4, *a-pil-sa* “[^d]Sa answered” [cf. *Deimel Panth* p. 229 # 2781, *Panth*² p. 29 # 169] in *ARET* VIII # 540 39:2 and as hypocoristic *'a-pil* in *MEE* 1 # 5044 II 4, *MEE* 2 ## 7 v. I 6, 12 v. II 6, 21 r. V 1, VI 10, VIII 7, *ARET* VIII ## 533 4:11, 534 46:15, 539 19:13.

²⁰³ If this is not II *u* or II *'*.

²⁰⁴ In *ar-ra-il* *ARET* IV # 12 r. V 1, *ar-ra-ma-lik* *ARET* IV # 11 r. VIII 18, in GN *ar-ra-ti-lu^{ki}* *MEE* 2 # 1 v. VII 10, as NP in *MEE* 2 # 8 r. IV 6, 39 r. III 19, *ARET* IV ## 8 r. V 11, 24 r. V 5, *ARET* III # 767 II 3 [for the DN *tilu(m)* see *Pomponio – Xella* p. 507], *ar-ra-da-mu* *ARET* III ## 63 r. I 7, 800 II 2, *ar-ra-tù-lum* *ARET* III ## 268 I 2, 862 II 7, 866 II 4 [for *Ṭulum* see above n. 23], *ar-ra-si-piš* *ARET* II # 19 VI 5, *ARET* VIII # 526 52: 20, through hypocoristic *ar-ra* in *ARET* III # 396 III 1', *ARET* IV # 1 r. II 18. The meaning of the verb, possibly through a comparison with Akkadian *arāru(m)*, *arû(m)*, *erēru(m)*, and the like, I could not ascertain.

²⁰⁵ In *ar-da-mu* of *MEE* 2 # 39 v. VI 6, *ar-si-piš* of *ARET* III ## 173 II 5, 875 r. III 3, *ar-ti-lu* *MEE* 2 # 21 r. X 9, *ARET* VIII # 524 9::27, *ar-ba'al* (*BE*) *MEE* 1 # 1540, *ARET* III ## 467 r. III 4, *ar-URU* *MEE* 2 # 7 v. I 1, 12 r. IV 6, *ar-šum* *MEE* 2 # 25 v. I 6, *ARET* III ## 471 r. II 3, 861 III 4, *ARET* IV # 3 r. III 4, [cf. *Pomponio – Xella* pp. 510 and 503 f.], *ar-ti-ir* *MEE* 1 # 5088, *ARET* III # 12 I 4 [cf. *Tallquist Epith* p. 472, *Pomponio – Xella* p. 508], *ar-PI* *MEE* 2 # 40 r. VI 5, *ARET* III # 481 I 2', *ARET* IV # 19 v. IV 5 [*Deimel Panth* p. 242 # 2987, *Panth*² p. 81 # 688], *ar-EN-hum* frequent acc. to *MEE* 1 p. 268, dito in *MEE* 2 p. 337, *ARET* II # 4 IX 5, 31 VII 7, *ARET* III p. 261, *ARET* IV p. 234, with suff. 1st pl. c. *ar-na* *ARET* II # 2 V 10 (suff.

rest.). The meaning of this verb is suggested by Akk. *ēru(m)* in the G-stem “to be awake, vigilant” (*AHw* p. 247a, *CAD* 4 p. 326).

²⁰⁶ In *é-zi-hum* of *MEE* 2 # 19 v. I 13, and hypocoristic *é-zi* in *MEE* 2 ## 17 r. I 9, VI 10, 39 r. II 13, VII 5, *ARET* II # 57 I 2, *ARET* III ## 141 I 2', 457 v. IV 2', 458 r. IV 6, 511 r. IV 3'. Meanings: “Hum/he was swift, hastened” (cf. *AHw* p. 270a).

²⁰⁷ In *MEE* 1 ## 834, 1365, 1464, 1472, 1505, 1520, 1527, 1694, 4173, *MEE* 2 ## 20 r. III 11, v. VI 12, 30 v. VIII 11, *ARET* II 14 XIX 11, 19 VII 11, *ARET* III ## 72 IV 1, 192 v. V 2, 334 III 2, 792 V 1, 854 v. I 2, *ARET* IV ## 7 r. II 6, VII 13, 16 v. III 6, 17 v. XI 18. The meaning cannot be made out. Was it a variant of *é-zi*?

²⁰⁸ In *en-na-a-gú** of *MEE* 1 # 5046, *MEE* 2 # 7 r. XIII 21, *ARET* II # 28 XIV 3, *ARET* IV ## 6 v. VIII 1, 11 r. X 15, 22 r. IV' 2, 25 r. III 8, *ARET* VIII ## 526 2:2, 532 25:7, 538 14:4, *en-na-ba'al*, *en-na-bēl* (*BAD*), *en-na-^dda-gan*, *en-na-da-mu*, *en-na-il*, *en-na-i-li*, *en-na-^dku-ra*, *en-na-ma-lik*, *en-na-ia*, *en-na-ia-il*, *en-na-^dra-sa-ap*, *en-na-^dUTU*, *en-na-^d[??]* in *ARET* IV pp. 240-242. Similarly in *ARET* III pp. 269 f., *MEE* 1 p. 269a. The meaning is suggested to have been approximately “gracious has been / is DN” by both the obviously positive employment in conjunction with divine names and the occurrence of *enna* in Oakk texts (*Gelb Glossary* p. 52). In addition to foregoing multiple instances and others, such as *en-na-šar* in *ARET* II # 6 V 3, there should be listed *en-na-ma-gú* in *ARET* II # 2 VIII 7, XI 2, *ARET* III # 964 r. I 2, *ARET* IV # 5 r. V 5 relating again to ^d*a-gú* with the emphatic *ma-* having been inserted, and again the hypocoristic form *en-na* in *ARET* II # 28 VI 6, *ARET* IV # 2 r. VIII 3, and *ARET* VIII # 540 38:10, 41:3.

²⁰⁹ In *a-ga* [vs *Limet L'anthroponymie* pp. 106, 194, 369] = haplogr. for *agga*; hypocoristic in *MEE* 1 # 1667, *MEE* 2 ## 2 r. III 14, 41 r. VI 8, *ARET* II # 43 III 2, *ARET* III ## 57 III 2, 193 r. III 4, 336 r. VIII 4', *ARET* VIII # 427 28:19; and in *a-ga-li-im* in *ARET* III # 14 v. I 1 and *a-ga-ib* in *ARET* VIII 542 17: (IX) 7; as well as *ag-ga* in *ARET* VIII # 523 33: (XV) 30, 529 41:17. *a(g)ga* means in its employments “he / DN is / was angry” (cf. *AHw* p. 14b, *CAD* 1,1 pp. 139 f., *Gelb Glossary* p. 20).

* *a-gú* is missing in *Pomponio – Xella*, see, however, ^d*A-gú* in *ARET* III # 666 I 4, ^d*a-gú* ^d*a-gú* (= pl.) in *MEE* 1 # 103, *i-ti-a-gú* [vs *Sollberger* in *ARET* VIII p. 25 not to be read *i-dī-a-gú* (cf. *i-ti-kà-ma-lik* “with you is Malik” in *ARET* VIII # 527 6:3 by the side of *i-ti-ma-lik* e.g. in *ARET* VIII # 523 16: <VIII> 6, and *i-ti-kà-an* in *ARET* V # 6 VIII 4, and *i-ti-kī-da-mu* in *ARET* II # 20 IV 4; cf., however, above notes 47 and 48)]; in *ARET* II ## 14 XI 7, 28 I 4, V 7, IX 2, *ARET* III p. 279, *ARET* IV p. 255, and in *puzur₄-ra-a-gú* in *ARET* II ## 14 III 6, 28 XII 9, *ARET* VIII 538 27:8 [for the writings of *puzur* see *Borger AbZ* p. 348], *a-gú-mudû* (*ZU*) in *ARET* VIII # 524 11:17, and others.

- ²¹⁰ In *nap-ha-il* MEE 1 # 736, MEE 2 ## 12 r. V 15, v. IV 7, 37 r. IV 5, V 11, 41 r. V 14, ARET III ## 328 II 7, 517 r. I 1, 749 IV 2, ARET IV # 12 v. I 6, *nap-ha-ia* MEE 1 ## 700, 888, MEE 2 ## 1 r. V 12, 3 v. III 7, 40 r. VI 3, MEE 3 # 55 r. IV 6, ARET II 28 VI 2, ARET III ## 61 II 4, 118 r. II 6, 762 II 3, 938 r. VI 13, 948 II 5, ARET IV ## 2 r. VI 10, 3 r. XI 8, 4 v. III 7, 6 v. I 10, 18 r. III 7, 22 v. III 4, ARET VIII ## 527 35:13, 533 17:28, 538 14:8, 540 40:17, *nap-ha-LU* in ARET VIII # 531 77:18 [for *LU* see above n. 26]. In this employment *napāh(u)m* stands for “to rise (DN)” [see *Stamm* pp. 185 f., *CAD* 11,1 pp. 265 ff., *AHw* p. 732b and MEE 3 p. 219].
- ²¹¹ *na-ki-sa* in ARET III # 12 II 2: “(sb.) cutting / having cut (sth.), lumberjack”.
- ²¹² “(Sb.) who went away, left” in ARET III # 494 III 4 (cf. *CAD* 11,1 p. 108, *AHw* p. 710b).
- ²¹³ Hypocoristic in MEE 2 # 27 v. IV 3 and meaning “he advanced (advances) boldly” cf. the frequently attested DN *na-im* through *Pomponio – Xella* p. 474.
- ²¹⁴ In *na-ma-da-mu* of MEE 1 # 929, ARET IV ## 17 r. XIII 8, r. XIV 11; probably “Damu is / was dozing (when the bearer of this name was begotten)” [cf. *AHw* p. 729b].
- ²¹⁵ In *na-ga-ummu* (*UM*) of MEE 2 ## 3 r. III 2, 39 r. VIII 12, ARET III ## 24 II 1, 584 V 12, 730 v. I 5, ARET IV ## 4 r. IV 2, 7 r. V 13, 14 v. V 16 [cf. above note 17], *na-ga-TU* in ARET III # 869 I 1 [see *Pomponio – Xella* pp. 331-333], *na-ga-ZA* ARET III # 499 III 5' [cf. *Deimel Panth*² pp. 11 # 99 and 123 # 957]. “DN sang / sings joyously”, cf. *CAD* 11,1 p. 123b, *AHw* p. 712a.
- ²¹⁶ See *na-dī-malik* (*EN*) of MEE 2 # 39 r. VI 13, meaning: “Malik was lying in the bed (of the bearer’s mother)”.
- ²¹⁷ In *na-da-abu* (*A*) in ARET III # 178 v. IV 8, *na-da-pa-du* (see *Deimel Panth* p. 240 # 2949, or to be read *gub-ba* in the casually inverted order of the signs: cf. *Deimel Panth*² p. 48 # 410) in ARET VIII ## 521 23:14, 542 42: (XIX) 4, also written with *da*₅ instead of the *da*, so *ibid.* in # 542 24:14. Whether this form is the same as the *nada* adduced in *Gelb Glossary* pp. 188 f. and *OAWG* pp. 147 ff. I cannot make out.
- ²¹⁸ In *né-ba-il* of MEE 1 ## 757, 760, 786, MEE 2 ## 20 r. I 2, 20 v. IV 6, ARET III ## 1 IV 5, 5 v. IV 10, 307 II 3, 369 IV 4, 866 IV 1, 881 v. IV 6, ARET IV ## 11 v. XIII 10, 12 r. VI 18, 17 r. XII 9, further, in *né-ba-ia* in MEE 1 ## 4942, 6418-6421, MEE 2 # 17 r. VII 7, ARET II ## 2 IV 5, 30 VII 4, IX 4, ARET III ## 464 v. III 11, 532 IV 1, 665 V 3, 937 r. II 2, r. II 7, 938 r. II 2, 941 II 3, ARET IV ## 1 r. VII 3, VII 24, v. IV 2, 2 r. VIII 2, v. V 10, v. VII 5, 6 v. VII 17, 8 r. IV 11, 18 r. V 17, ARET VIII ## 525 40: (XXI) 6, 526 13:15, 527 10:16, 12:19, 538 13:12, 542 17: (IX) 12, and

- others, so in *né-ba₄-ma-lik* of *MEE* 2 # 19 r. V 17; further: hypocoristic *né-ba* in *ARET* VIII # 529 0: (IV) 4, *né-ba₄* in *MEE* 1 # 5047 and *ARET* VIII # 529 0: (IV) 4. Meaning: “(he is) shining, bright” (cf. *CAD* 11,1 pp. 39b f., 11,2 p. 148, esp. sect. b), *AHw* p. 774b).
- ²¹⁹ In *na-da-a* of *ARET* III # 178 v. IV 8'. As in OAss “he deposited”? Cf. *AHw* p. 707a 16) d). According to *MEE* 4 ## 1443 and 045 *na-da-um* corresponds to **ba-ru** meaning approximately “give, do away”.
- ²²⁰ In *na-a-ma-lik* of *MEE* 1 # 716, *na-a-li-im* *ARET* III # 958 I 2, and *na-a-hum* in *ARET* VIII 541 30:3. Meaning: “DN shouts (with joy or pain)” (see *CAD* 11,2 p. 134a).
- ²²¹ See hypocoristic *wa-da-’à* in *ARET* III # 692 v. II 2, *ARET* IV ## 1 r. VI 13, 6 v. VI 7, 9 v. III 1, and – with assimilation of the *a’* – *wa-da-ra-im* in *ARET* III ## 260 v. I 5, 458 v. V 17, 468 r. III 11 [for *Ra’im* see already *Pomponio* – *Xella* p. 488 and *Irmī-šamagan* through foregoing n. 77]. Meaning: “he knows” (cf. *AHw* pp. 1454 f.).
- ²²² Hypocoristic in *MEE* 1 ## 1618, 5043, *MEE* 2 # 22 r. X 2, *ARET* III ## 12 I 2, 50 IV 3, 82 V 6, VI 5, 106 v. I 2, 160 V 5, 467 v. III 5, 528 II 5, *ARET* IV # 15 r. X 12. Meaning: “he puts under pressure, presses hard” (cf. *AHw* p. 1459a).
- ²²³ Regarding the instances listed and characterised in *Three Books* pp. 140–142, there should be corrected for *īsrūt*: *ARET* VIII # 522 21:6.
- ²²⁴ Different from what was said in n. 223, the descriptive and active aspects of *ešēru(m)* are represented by this stative-perfective being very common in Ebla texts both in theophoric names and without any further definition attached* and having been formed without any ending through employment of an adjective as part of type *c₁* (see *Creat* pp. 188 ff.) as was recognised before for the Oakk by Gelb in *Glossary* pp. 77 f., whereas for OBab and OAss von Soden *GAG* p. 31* considered *īšaru(m)* and *ešaru(m)* verbaladjectives.
- ²²⁵ For *ī-a-ša₁₇* and *a-a-ša₁₇* = *aša* see already *Earl Dial* p. 219 n. 42. While *bašā’um* suggests a root I *ya-* / III *’*, the stative-perfective *īaša* allows to understand *īaša* as being biradical “*primae ya-*” of the *a₁* – type [cf. below n. 242 and 239].
- ²²⁶ Hypocoristic *é-ki-a* *MEE* 1 # 6519, *ARET* III ## 691 v. V 3, V 9 “he was / is humble?” = “Meek” (cf. *CAD* 1,1 pp. 283 f., *AHw* p. 196a).
- ²²⁷ In *MEE* 2 ## 2 r. II 3, 12 r. IX 3, 39 v. IV 11, *ARET* III ## 134 v. III 3, 204 v. II 2, 322 r. VI 4, 336 r. VI 4, 437 r. VI 9, 888 II 5, *ARET* IV # 6 r. IX 4,

* This hypocoristic form is missing in *Pomponio*’s and *Xella*’s list on pp. 440 f. of their book. See, however, *ARET* II ## 12 VII 4, 15 VII 6, 28 XIV 9, *ARET* III p. 279, *ARET* IV p. 253, *ARET* VIII p. 28. Cf., further, above n. 68*.

ra-ba-ia *ARET* IV # 24 r. VIII 4. Meaning: “he replaced, restored” (*CAD* 14 pp. 53 ff., cf. above notes 66 and 80).

²²⁸ See *la-a-iš₁₁-malik* (*EN*) in *ARET* III # 508 III 2' and *la-a-iš₇-LU* in *MEE* 2 # 19 r. II 6 [for *LU* see above notes 48, 78 and 151]. Meaning: “absent is / was the king / wealth”.

²²⁹ In *la-a-si-piš* [sic! vs Gelb, Edzard *et al.*] in *MEE* 1 # 726, *ARET* IV # 10 r. IX 10, *la-a-šar* *ARET* IV # 11 v. II 9, *la-a-hum* *ARET* III # 135 v. II 4, *la-a-hum* *ARET* III # 135 v. II 4, *ARET* IV ## 8 r. II 7, 9 r. I 3, 18 r. I 4, r. IV 8, 22 v. VI 12 and 20, v. VIII 9, 24 r. III 3 and IX 11, *ARET* VIII ## 521 9: (V) 7 and 15:14, 527 4:10, *la-a-mu-du* *ARET* III 510 v. III 3' [cf. above n. 69], meaning: “he (DN) is strong, prevails, is able to do something etc.” (*Gelb Glossary* p. 158, *OAWG* p. 186, *CAD* 9 pp. 151 ff., *AHW* pp. 547 f.; cf. above notes 21 and 68).

²³⁰ In *ma-a-hum* *MEE* 2 # 30 v. VI 11, *ARET* II # 14 XVII 11, *ma-a-da-mu* *ARET* IV # 12 r. VI 7, *ARET* III # 757 r. II 2: *ma-a-[da-m]u* “DN rules” = verbal cognate of the noun *ma-'à-um* being considered by Eblaites an equivalent of ^d*en* in *MEE* 4 # 800 and of *ma-u₉-um* in *MEE* 2 ## 19 v. VII 10, 22 v. II 7, *ARET* III # 882 III 1. [*AHW* p. 637a and *CAD* 10,1 p. 435b are to be supplemented accordingly] – *ma-ù-ut(ù)* is the corresponding n.pr. hypocor. fem. in *MEE* 1 ## 683, 960, *MEE* 2 # 12 r. III 5', *ARET* III # 31 r. III 4'.

²³¹ Through *la-da-ad* (< *lada* + *adad*) of *MEE* 1 ## 812, 1124, 5057, *MEE* 2 ## 16 r. III 6, 34 r. IV 6, 36 r. IV 5, 38 r. IV 4, 44 r. II 3, *ARET* II # 4 XV 3, *la-da-ki-nu* *ARET* III # 159 r. III 7 [for the deification of *kinum* in Oakk dialects see *Gelb Glossary* pp. 139 f., and at Ebla *Pomponio – Xella* p. 407], and hypocoristic *la-da* in *ARET* IV # 12 r. VII 12. The meaning possibly inferred from *AHW* p. 527a and *CAD* 9 p. 36a could relate, perhaps, to the deity's gracious self-humiliation by his copulation with the mother of the bearer of the name.

²³² “He loves, sb. being devoted to sb.” in hypocoristic *ha-ba* *MEE* 1 # 715, *MEE* 2 # 2 r. I 8, *ARET* III # 701 II 3, *ARET* IV 7 v. IV 4, 22 r. VII 6, see, further, *ha-ba-TI* *ARET* VIII # 534 55:7, *ARET* III # 744 v. V 3 [for *TI* see n. 49], and with suff. 3rd masc. sing. *ha-ba-šu* in *ARET* III # 626 III 2.

²³³ In *bí-tá-hum* of *ARET* II # 5 VII 15 “spent the night (in cohabitation and begot the bearer of the name)”; usually the D-stem is chosen; see, therefore, below n. 296.

²³⁴ In *ri-ba-il* of *ARET* III ## 31 r. II 9, 567 IV 2, *ri-ba-du* < *riba* + *adu* in *ARET* III # 860 v. IV 2; “the DN recompensated or is such who replaces” (cf. above n. 66, 227 *et al.*).

^{234a} See below n. 303.

- ²³⁵ In *ti-a-da-mu* *ARET* II # 32 XI 1, * *ARET* III # 193 r. VI 4, *ti-a-ga***-*mu* in *ARET* IV # 23 v. V 14. Related to Akk *ta'û* (*t'û*) “to eat, pasture” or *tê'u* “to cover” (*AHW* pp. 1340b and 1353a).
- ²³⁶ See *ši-da-mu* in *MEE* 1 # 1556, *MEE* 2 # 30 v. IV 7, *ARET* VIII ## 521 41: (XIX) 25, 525 13: (VIII) 27 and 22: (XIII) 10, 532 2:4, 533 57:11, 540 56: (XXIV) 14, 542 37:15, *ARET* II ## 14 XV 7, 15 VI 3, *ARET* III ## 396 I 2, 504 I 4, 599 r. I 2, 688 v. I 7 and as *ši-da-mu* in 527 26:5, *ši-kam_x* [Pettinato] (\approx *kam₄* = *gàm* = *Auriga* [Tallquist *Epith* p. 310]) in *MEE* 2 # 2 v. II 11, *ARET* III ## 25 I 1, 145 I 3, 162 I 2, 216 III 2, 517 r. I 3, 555 r. II 3, 800 I 6, *ši-ma-lik* *ARET* III # 440 v. III I 5, *MEE* 2 ## 19 r. VII 5, VIII 4, XI 13, *ši-da-ar* *MEE* 2 ## 22 r. IV 10, VI 12, [for ^d*Dar* = Enlil see Deimel *Panth* p. 102 # 709, Tallquist *Epith* p. 281]. *AHW* p. 1095b f.: »etwa “aktions-, kampfunfähig machen”«, still missing in the (older) volumes 16 and 21 of *CAD*.
- ²³⁷ In *qá-ma-da-mu* of *MEE* 2 # 47 r. V 4, *qá-ma-NE* (Deimel *Panth*² p. 46 # 339 reads ^d*BIL* which corresponds as *be₈* to *abba*) of *ARET* III # 868 II 8, *qá-ma-hum* *ibid.* # 468 v. II 8, *qá-ma-ib* *ibid.* # 42 VI 1. For *qâmu* “to stand by, remain with” see *AHW* p. 896b and *CAD* 13 p. 79a. The Eblaitic occurrence explains the hitherto uncertain *ABL* VI: 547 r. 9.
- ²³⁸ See *kam_x-da-mu* in *MEE* 2 ## 17 r. VII 18, 30 r. VIII 2, 33 v. VIII 6, 39 r. XII 4, *ARET* II # 14 VIII 2, *ARET* IV # 22 v. VI 6, *kam_x-šil* *ARET* IV ## 2 v. VIII 11, 13 v. IX 6, *kàm-šil* *ARET* VIII # 526 17: (XIII) 10, and *kàm-halum* [for ^d*Halum* see Gelb *CAA* p. 253, 580 # 1817, and above notes 32, 49 and others]. Merely a variant of the item adduced in foregoing no. 237.
- ²³⁹ In *la-ša₁₇* of *ARET* III # 249 r. III 9, *lá-ša₁₇-ummu* (*UM*) *ARET* IV # 1 v. VI 14; < *la* + *jaša* \approx Akkad. stative *laššu* “have nothing, (there) is / are not”; cf. *AHW* p. 539, *CAD* 9 pp. 108b ff.: Semantic contrast – not necessarily by employment – is *ba-ša₁₇* in *a-ba-ša₁₇*. “The father (= *a*) is / was he (i.e. a deity resp. the begetter)” [mother rejoicing at her child's health and strong condition] *or* “Abba is / exists / lives” (cf. *Stamm* p. 135) in *MEE* 1 # 5044 II 6, *MEE* II ## 2 v. VII 12, 40 r. VI 13, *ARET* III ## 528 I 3, *ARET* IV # 13 3. VI 12, 20 v. I 5; cf. above n. 15 and the same phenomenon in Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic-Syriac, etc., and *išawu* in *MEE* 4 # 789 \approx **an-gál**.
- ²⁴⁰ In *ri-da-gàm* [cf. above notes 32 and 236] of *MEE* 1 # 5088, *ARET* III ## 426 I 3, 459 r. VIII 2, 588 r. IV 2, *ARET* IV # 2 r. III 13, *ri-dam-ma-lik*

* Edzard's suggestion to consider *tia-damu* the feminine “Gegenstück” of an *i-a-da-mu*, may be correct although I have not found the latter in the supposed passage of *ARET* II # 10 III 2. See, however, *i-a-hum* in *MEE* 1 ## 813, 827 and *i-ad-damu* *ibid.* # 831.

** See Pomponio – Xella pp. 443 f. or read *lah* instead of *ga* [for ^d*Lahmu* see Deimel *Panth* p. 162 # 1816, Tallquist *Epith* p. 347].

MEE 1 # 845, *MEE* 2 ## 19 r. VII 10, 25 r. XI 2, *ARET* III ## 261 II 3, 743 IV 6, 860 v. II 6, v. III 1, 888 IV 7', *ARET* IV # 12 v. I 14, *ri-da-qar* *ARET* VIII # 527 29 [for ^d*qar* (*gàr*) see *Deimel Panth* p. 245 # 3006, *Panth*² p. 67 # 627], *ri-da-ma-hu* *ARET* IV # 1 r. V 9 [for ^d*ahu* see above n. 67 and others], hypocoristic with 1st s. m. (cf. n. 27) in *ri-dam* of *MEE* 2 # 22 r. V 15.

241 See *MEE* 1 # 1026, *ARET* III # 144 II 7", *ARET* IV 22 v. IX 2, *ARET* VIII # 542 42:11 = feminine form of the one listed under 240.

242 See through notes 225 and 239.

242a In *ba-na-a-hu* of *MEE* 1 # 4955, *ba-na-ah* in *ARET* III # 286 r. II 4, *ba-na*[- in *ARET* III # 178 v. V 5, *ba-na-ia* of *ARET* VIII # 539 18:5. Cf. *CAD* 2 pp. 87 f., *AHw* p. 103.

242b Feminine correspondence to no. 242a. See in *ARET* IV # 16 v. IV 15.

243 *ha-ra-il* in numerous passages (see through *ARET* III p. 274 f., *ha-ra-ia* *ARET* III p. 275, *ARET* VIII ## 521 5:16, 531 63:30, 533 15:6, 536 4:7, 542 3:17 *et al.*), "he (DN) chose (the mother of the person so named)"; cf. *AHw* pp. 342b f., *CAD* 6 p. 119.

244 The emphasis is mine.

245 *GAG* p. 100 (§ 77).

246 *MEE* 1 # 762, *ARET* III ## 830 I 1, 404 IV 2, *ARET* IV # 12 r. VI 10.

246a *ARET* VIII # 521 13:14. Spelled as *ab-ba-ì-lum* in *MEE* 1 # 6519 r. VI.

247 *MEE* 1 # 865, *MEE* 2 ## 29 v. II 10, 37 v. V 12.*

248 *ARET* III # 249 r. III 1.

249 *MEE* 2 # 40 v. II 6, *MEE* 1 # 820, *ARET* III # 249 r. III 4.

250 *ARET* II # 37 I 3, *ARET* IV ## 13 r. XII 16, 19 v. IV 3, *MEE* 2 ## 7 v. I 18, 43 v. IV 5.

250a *MEE* 2 # 760, and spelled *ì-lum-na-im* in *MEE* 2 # 11 r. V 9.

251 *MEE* 1 # 845, *MEE* 2 ## 6 r. II 6, 16 r. IV 4, 29 r. VII 2, 33 v. III 14, 35 r. I 8, II 8, 41 r. XIII 11, 43 r. VII 4, *ARET* IV # 6 v. II 13, *ARET* III p. 284.

252 See *MEE* 2 p. 346a and others. Hence the subject is the bearer of the name: "N.N. is the / a slave, servant [in Akkadian *wardu*] of DN".

253 *MEE* 1 ## 835, 1058, 1319, *ARET* III # 219 II 4.

254 *ARET* IV # 16 r. VIII 9.

255 *MEE* 1 ## 700, 736, 1008, 1024, *ARET* II ## 14 IV 8, 24 III 7, IV 4, 28 VI 8. Also written as *ir-èr-da-ma-lik* in *MEE* 1 ## 753, 758a, 929, 1007, 1456, *MEE* 2 # 50 r. VIII 2, *ARET* II ## 13 IX 7, 15 II 5, 56 II 2.

256 *ARET* III ## 719 V 3, 730 v. I 7, 763 II 4, *ARET* IV ## 4 v. IX 2, 18 r. III 11, *ARET* VIII # 534 55:9.

* The reading *a-ban-DN* is to be understood as *appan-malik/ia* etc. cf. *Stamm* p. 231, *GAG* p. 168 (§ 115 I).

- ²⁵⁷ *MEE* 2 # 25 v. IX 5; cf. *AHw* p. 6a. For this and the following names having used the word *ebdu* see below through note 360.
- ²⁵⁸ *MEE* 1 # 725, *MEE* 2 ## 17 r. I 6, 40 v. II 3.
- ²⁵⁹ *MEE* 2 # 43 v. VI 7.
- ²⁶⁰ *MEE* 1 # 6519, *MEE* 2 # 19 r. III 12, 22 v. I 1, as *eb-du-EN* in *MEE* 1 # 1473.
- ²⁶¹ *MEE* 1 # 976.
- ²⁶² *MEE* 1 # 726. Note the dialectal variation.
- ²⁶³ *MEE* 1 # 6519.
- ²⁶⁴ *puzur* is offered as a sample because its character is somewhat different from the items adduced under numbers 246-263. Akkadian *puzru* / *puzuru* stands for a number of shades of meanings grouped around the notes of “shelter, protection, secret, secrecy, and hiding” (cf. *Gelb Glossary* pp. 220-222, *AHw* p. 885). From the Eblaïtic attestations are noted: *puzur₄-ra-^dUTU* in *ARET* II # 51 II 1, *puzur₄-ra-a-gú* in *ARET* II ## 14 III 6, 28 XII 9, *ARET* IV # 10 v. III 8, *ARET* VIII # 538 27:8, *MEE* 2 p. 349, *puzur₄-ra-ma-lik* of *ARET* II ## 15 VIII 4, 29 III 3, IV 3, and through *MEE* 1 p. 272, *MEE* 2 p. 349, *ARET* III p. 296, and *ARET* VIII p. 33; *puzur₄-ra-a-ba₄* in *ARET* III # 469 r. III 10, *ARET* IV # 13 v. XI 16 as well, as *puzur₄-ra-a-ha* in *ARET* II # 28 IV 8,* *puzur-ra-ba'al(BE)* in *MEE* 2 ## 19 r. V 11, 25 r. X 6, via *ARET* III p. 295, *ARET* IV p. 260, and *ARET* VIII # 525 38:17, *puzur₄-ra-da-mu* in *ARET* III # 912 I 3, *puzur₄-ra-ha-al* in *MEE* 2 # 7 v. II 2, *ARET* III ## 1 III 4', 307 I 1', 468 r. II 9', 669 I 5', *ARET* IV # 12 v. VI 3, *puzur₄-ra-il* of *ARET* III ## 193 r. VI 1, 328 III 4, *ARET* IV ## 13 r. X 6, 17 r. VIII 7 and *puzur₄-ra-ia* *ARET* IV ## 6 r. VI 18, 9 r. III 8, 10 r. II 7, 12 r. VI 9, listed in *MEE* 1 ## 726, 1556, further, through *ARET* III pp. 295 f., and *ARET* VIII p. 33, *puzur₄-aš-tár* in *MEE* 2 ## 43 r. VIII 5, IX 7, v. IV 9, *puzur₄-ra-^deš₄-tár* of *ARET* VIII # 529 34: (XIX) 4, as well as *puzur₄-malik(EN)* of *MEE* 2 # 1 v. IX 13, *púzur-^dša-ma-gan* in *ARET* VIII 531 42:23, *puzur₄-ha-ru₁₂* *ARET* III ## 106 v. VIII 3', 755 v. IV 6',** *puzur₄-ba'al(BE)* *MEE* 2 # 30 v. III 13, and others.
- ²⁶⁵ For the comparison with the Akkadian see *GAG* § 85 (pp. 110 f.), *Gelb OAWG* p. 169.
- ²⁶⁶ See here pp. 22 ff.

* For the ‘freeze’ of *aba* and *aha* instead of the employment of the status absolutus forms *ab* and *ah* as in *puzur₄-ra-ha-al* (see above) or the nominatives *abu* and *ahu* as in *puzur₄-ra-a-bù* of *ARET* III # 226 margin 3 and *puzur₄-ra-a-hu* in *MEE* 2 # 8 r. VII 8, *ARET* III # 8 r. VII 8 and *ARET* IV # 13 r. III 3 see the virtual irregularity *Gelb* has noted in *OAWG* p. 139 ff.

** See *Tallquist Epith* p. 321.

- 267 *é-da-um_x* ≈ Sumer. **a-sar** in *MEE* 4 # 618; in Akk *edûm*; **a-sar** ≈ also *ahāzum* “to take, marry, learn” (*AHw* p. 187b and 18b); see also Middle and Neo-Ass *wadû* which has its Eblaitic equivalent in the n. pr. *wa-da-’à* (*ARET* III # 692 v. II 2, *ARET* IV ## 1 r. VI 13, 6 v. VI 7, 9 v. III 1); cf. Hebrew *yāda’*.*
- 268 **a-aka** [in later Sumerian **á-ag-(ga)**] ≈ *malakum* “to advise, counsel, order” in *MEE* 4 # 602 (*Gelb OAWG* p. 176, *AHw* p. 593b f., *CAD* 10,1 pp. 154-158).
- 269 *war-um_x* ≈ **a-aka** (*MEE* 4 # 602) ≈ Akk *wārum* D “to order, govern” (*AHw* p. 1472a, *CAD* 1,2 pp. 320b ff.).
- 270 *’à-la-lum* ≈ **šà-kal** in *MEE* 4 # 592 ≈ Akk *alālu* “to jubilate, praise” [not in G-stem] (*AHw* p. 34b, *CAD* 1,1 pp. 331b f.).
- 271 *é-la-um_x* ≈ **di-di**** in *MEE* 4 # 635 ≈ Akk *elû(m)* “to ascend, to rise” (*AHw* pp. 206b ff., *CAD* 4 pp. 114b ff.).
- 272 *zì-na-um**** ≈ **šà-dab**⁽¹⁾ (in *MEE* 4 # 575) ≈ Akk *zenû(m)* “to be angry” (*AHw* p. 1519, *CAD* 21 pp. 85 f.).
- 273 *rí-à-šú-um* ≈ **á-dah** (in *MEE* 4 # 551) ≈ Akk *rāšu(m)* and *rêšu(m)* “to help, succour” (*CAD* pp. 187 f., 376 f., and 270, *AHw* p. 960a, 972, 989a).
- 274 In *qá-ba-lu árda* (*IR*₁₁) ≈ **á-uš** (in *MEE* 4 # 538) “to take captive”, apparently unattested, so far, for the Akkadian dialects.
- 275 ≈ **al-gál** (*MEE* 4 # 991) ≈ Akk *bašû(m)* “to exist, to be on hand, happen” etc. (*CAD* 2 pp. 144 ff., *AHw* pp. 112b-114, and above through n. 15).
- 276 In the gen. cstr. *na-ší-ì a-na-a* ≈ **igi-íla** “to raise [or: the raising of] the eyes (dual)”. For *an* as an alternate of *en* and *inu* see *Europa* pp. 167 ff.
- 277 Through *ga-ma-lu-um* ≈ **ib-šeš-2 mí-dug₄-ga** (in *MEE* 4 # 236) “to treat friendly, to agree, to spare” (*CAD* 5 pp. 21-23. *AHw* pp. 275b f.).
- 278 See *ra-a-mu-um* ≈ **ib-šeš-2 dar mí-dug₄-ga** (in *MEE* 4 # 237) ≈ *rāmu(m)* “to love”; *CAD* 14 pp. 137 ff. or *rēmu(m)* “to have compassion with sb.”; *ibid.* pp. 263b-265a, see also *AHw* pp. 951 f. and 970b f.
- 279a In *ba-à-lu-um/-lum* in *MEE* 4 # 701 explained through **igi-murub₄** “angry eye”, in Akk *bêlum*, OAkk *ba’ālum*, OAss *be’ālum* “to rule, subdue”, *Gelb Glossary* p. 86, *CAD* 2 pp. 199-202, *AHw* pp. 120b f.
- 279b Dito as *ba-a-lu-um/-lum* (in *MEE* 4 ## 182a and 182b, and # 1211 as well) ≈ **gù-di-2** and **gù-mal-2**.
- 280 *ša-um_x* corresponds in *MEE* 4 # 163a to **šà-gar** and ≈ Akk *še’û(m)* “to search, seek, strive for” etc. (*CAD* 17,2 pp. 355 ff., *AHw* 1222b ff.).

* *um_x* for *lum* is confirmed through *MEE* 4 # 602, 635, and others.

** According to *MEE* 4 # 826a **di-di** corresponds also to Eblaitic *alûm* which just appears to have been a variant of *ela’um* and to *’à-a-lum* which may have referred to the common Semitic word for “deer”.

*** Should be read *zè-na-um*. Cf., by the way, Hebrew *šānā’* “to hate”.

- 281 In *pá-ša-šu-um/-šum* (in *MEE* 4 # 502) \approx **šu-i** \approx Akk *pašašu(m)* “to anoint” (AHw pp. 843b f.).*
- 282 Through *wa-’à-um* \approx **šu-ra** \approx Akk *ma’û* (AHw p. 637a) \approx Akk *ma₉-’à-um*; see also *ma-hā-šum* \approx *mašādum* \approx **ra** (AHw pp. 580a, 623a).
- 283a+b *wa-ša-um* and – by contraction – *wašûm* as well as *waša’ûm* corresponding (slightly different from *MEE* 4 # 507) to **šu-du** is represented in Akk by the varying attestations of *wašûm* [having a number of cognates in other Semitic languages] (cf. AHw pp. 1475b-1480).
- 284 *na-û-um* in *MEE* 4 # 725 \approx **pād** “to shout with joy or pain” (cf. *CAD* 11,2 p. 134a). That this is meant rather than the verbs and meanings listed in AHw pp. 768b and 784a is obvious from the equation listed as the next item.
- 285a Analogous to the preceding item; cf. *CAD* 11,1 pp. 32 ff., AHw pp. 699b f. Frequently attested for the Eblaitic through finite forms.
- 285b The same with the Sumerian approximate translations **é-nam-aka** and **é-nam-ki** in *MEE* 4 ## 325a and 325b.
- 286 Listed in *MEE* 4 # 526 is *kà-ma-sú-um* “to collect, finish, complete” and others (cf. *CAD* 8, 114-117, AHw p. 431) \approx **šu-dím-aka**.
- 287 \approx **šu-šu-ra** in *MEE* 4 # 531a “to attack”, Akk *tebû(m)* (cf. AHw 1342b # 3h).
- 288 *kà-núm* \approx **ki-GÁ-gar** in *MEE* 4 ## 139 and 0184; \approx Akk *kānu(m)* (AHw p. 438b ff., *CAD* 8 pp. 159a ff.).
- 289 *’à-la-lum* in *MEE* 4 # 590 \approx **ša-hul**; cf. Akk *alālu* III in AHw p. 34b and *CAD* 1,1 pp. 331b f. (G-stem not attested).
- 290 In *kà-pá-sí i-da* (2) \approx **á-hum** “to bend the arms (dual)” in *MEE* 4 ## 557 and 012 [cf. AHw 443, *CAD* 8 pp. 181f.].
- 291 In *la-ba-um* \approx **gù-dé** of *MEE* 4 # 204 “to roar, shout”.
- 292 For *ša-la-um* \approx **še-mar** “to winnow” see *MEE* 4 # 659.
- 293 In *MEE* 4 # 692 see also *da-šu-um* \approx **še-sum** “to thrash” (cf. *CAD* 3 p. 121, AHw 168 [contrary to von Soden’s assumption *dašu* is no younger form of *diašu(m)*]).
- 294 In *ù-da-ša₁₀* of *dešû(m)* “to make abundant, to provide lavishly” of *MEE* 2 ## 22 v. VI 4 and 8, *ARET* III # 635 v. VI 4 (cf. *CAD* 3 pp. 129b f., AHw p. 167b).
- 295 In *ù-wa-da* hypocoristic “he recognised” (relating to a deity) in *ARET* III # 502 I 3, *ARET* IV # 12 r. VII 14 (cf. AHw p. 1455, *CAD* 7 p. 31).
- 296 See *bù-tá-ma-lik* in *MEE* 1 ## 737, 766, *MEE* 2 ## 1 v. VI 14, 2 r. VI 11, X 1, 11 v. III 12, 25 v. IX 19, *ARET* II ## 15 II 4, 30 XI 9², *ARET* III p. 264, *ARET* IV p. 237, *ARET* VIII # 523 41: (XXII) 8, *bù-tá-ba-al* *ARET* III #

* Cf. ibid. **šu-i** \approx *piš-šum* “ointment, oil” [cf. *piššatum* “oil ration”: AHw p. 869a].

283 I 3, *bù-tá-ba-‘al* (BE) MEE 1 # 751, MEE 3 # 1 v. VI 19, *bù-tá-a-hu* ARET IV # 13 r. II 8, *bù-tá-il* in MEE 1 ## 758a, 760 ARET III ## 29 II 2, 337 v. III 3, 610 II 2, ARET IV # 16 v. II 14, *bù-tá-ia* in MEE 2 ## 8 v. II 2, V 2, ARET III p. 264, ARET IV p. 237, *bù-tá-^dda-gan* ARET III # 105 IV 5, ARET IV # 23 v. IV 3, hypocoristic in ARET III # 90 I 6, and written with *bu-tá* in *bu-tá-na-im* in MEE 1 # 5088, ARET IV # 18 r. IX 9 (cf. CAD 2 p. 169b ff., AHw p. 124 and above n. 233).

297 In *bù-kà-hum* MEE 1 # 6519, ARET III ## 105 V 4, 222 v. II 6, 457 r. III 4, ARET IV ## 23 r. V 6', X 13; "Hum cried" (the D-stem of *bakû(m)* is apparently unattested for other levels of Akkadian [cf. CAD 2 pp. 35b-38, AHw p. 97]).

298 In *pu-ma-ia* of MEE 2 ## 2 v. VIII 8, 3 v. VII 10, 8 r. X 13, 17 v. X 12, ARET III ## 723 r. II 9, 730 r. IV 4, ARET IV ## 4 r. VII 10, 6 v. X 12, 7 v. I 9, ARET VIII ## 531 61:18, 533 3:18, 37:14, 534 27:10. Hypocoristic in *pù-ù-ma* of MEE 1 ## 1465 and 4920. Meaning uncertain; for *pâmu* see AHw p. 817b.

299 In *su-ma-a-ba₄* of MEE 2 # 35 v. III 7, *su-ma-il* ARET IV ## 17 r. VI 16, v. IV 3, *su-ma-ia* MEE 1 # 6519, ARET III # 457 r. II 6, ARET IV ## 3 v. III 12, 5 v. I 17, v. II 3, 9 v. V 8, 14 v. II 5, 23 v. I 1, "DN made red" or "DN interfered" [cf. CAD 15 pp. 131 f. and 125 f., AHw pp. 1038b f. and 1020].

300 In *ku-la-ia* of MEE 1 # 1183, *ku-la-ib* in ARET IV # 23 v. VII 3, hypocoristic *kûl-la* in MEE 1 # 6519, MEE 2 ## 6 r. IV 4, 43 r. II 5, VI 6, ARET VIII # 521 27: (XII) 14, and as *kû-la* # 523 31: (XIV) 1 "[DN/he] holds (fast)" (cf. CAD 8 pp. 508 ff., AHw pp. 502 f.).

301 See *lu-a-ma-lik* in MEE 2 # 29 r. IX 11, *lu-a-ia* in MEE 1 ## 4932, 6519, ARET VIII # 521 20: (IX) 15, *lu-a-ib* ARET VIII # 521 20: (X) 8; while CAD 9 p. 151 ff., esp. 157, adduces a few instances of the Š-stem of *le'û(m)* which AHw p. 547 does not have, neither of them relates to an attestation of the D stem now being offered in the Eblaitic dialect with approximately the same meaning.

302 In *lu-la-ma-lik* of MEE 2 # 22 v. II 2, *lu-la-il* MEE 1 # 960, ARET III ## 86 I 4, 817 I 3, *lu-la-ia* ARET III ## 5 v. IV 7, 28 III 2; "DN provided with abundance, beauty, happiness" (CAD 9 p. 242, AHw p. 562b).

303 *ù-da-ah* and *ù-da-a-hu* in ARET IV # 2 r. VI 1 and 1 v. III 17; G = "to know", D = "to designate", otherwise G = D, cf. AHw pp. 1454 ff.

304 See *du-na-il* in ARET III # 903 II 3 and *du-na-ma-lik* ibid. # 467 r. III 5, *du-na-sa-GI* in MEE 2 # 27 v. VIII 3 [for ^dGI see Deimel *Panth* p. 92 # 586, *Panth*² p. 20 # 31], *du-na-šittam* (Ù) in ARET III # 173 IV 5 "he helped the sleep". Cf. AHw p. 159b, CAD 3 pp. 83 ff., esp. 84b.

305 See *pù-ha-abba* (BIL) in MEE 1 # 4936 (cf. Akk *pehû(m)* OAss *pahā'u(m)* D "to close, block" in AHw p. 852 f.).

- ^{305a} Cf. below n. 309. However, *muda* could also belong to the verb *medû* as preterit of the D-stem meaning “he observed, watched” (cf. *AHw* p. 640a [different *CAD* 10,2 p. 3], *Gelb Glossary* p. 18). As infinitives, *mu-du-um* and *mu-da-um* are supposed, like the form *mu-du*, to correspond to Sumerian **giš** – **húbxkaskal** in *MEE* 4 # 391. One would expect **kù-zu**, though.
- ³⁰⁶ In *tù-bù-hu*-^dà-da *MEE* 1 ## 685, 747 + 22 times, in *ARET* III ## 141 I 4, 184 v. III 3, 375 III 11, 457 r. IV 8, 511 v. I 1, 762 I 3, 854 v. I 4, 960 I 2, *ARET* II # 2 III 1, often in *ARET* VIII [see *ibid.* p. 35; Sollberger reads *tù-bù*-^dha-da] *tù-bù-hu-li-im* in *MEE* 2 # 30 v. II 8, *tù-bù-hu-i-šar* in *MEE* 1 # 5052, *tù-bù-hu-ma-lik* in *MEE* 2 ## 3 r. I 5, 17 r. I 10, 17 v. III 8, 39 r. V 12, *ARET* III p. 267, *ARET* IV p. 239, *tù-bù-hu-PI* *MEE* 1 # 1111 [for *PI* see *Deimel Panth* p. 242 # 2987, *Panth*² p. 81 # 688] “a slaughterman / killer is DN” or “killer of / for DN” is he, i.e. the bearer of this name. Cf. *AHw* p. 1376a.
- ³⁰⁷ In *pù-tù-DU* of *ARET* III ## 469 r. III 1, 508 I 2 “the prince is DN” (*puttu* = verbal-adjective of *petû(m)* D [cf. *AHw* pp. 884a and 860b f.]; for ^d*DU* see *Deimel Panth* p. 102 # 728, *Panth*² p. 48 # 410.
- ³⁰⁸ Verbaladjective of *murrû(m)* [= D stem of *marû(m)* *mar’u(m)* “to feed, fatten” (*CAD* 10,1 pp. 307b f.)] ≈ **še-mûnu** in *MEE* 4 p. 276 # 676.
- ³⁰⁹ According to von Soden, *mūdû* < *mūda’um* was originally a participle of the D-stem, then used for G [see *GAG* pp. 152 and 65 (§§ 106q, 56d)]. In Eblaitic texts it could be represented in *mu-da-abba* (*BIL*) of *MEE* 2 # 22 r. V 1, *mu-da-hum* *ibid.* # 19 r. XIII 7, and *mu-da-ar* of *ARET* III # 860 v. V 16 [for *Ar* see *Pomponio – Xella* pp. 353-355].
- ³¹⁰ See *ma-wa-kí-lu* in *MEE* 2 # 25 v. IV 5, *ARET* 2 ## 32 III 1 and 3 ≈ Akk. *muwakkilu*; cf. *AHw* p. 1456a: *wakalum* D “to appoint sb. to the office as *wak-lum* (= inspector)” ≈ Sumer. **ugula** (very common in Eblaitic texts also; see, for instance, *ARET* III p. 393).
- ³¹¹ In *mug-eri-ia* *MEE* 2 ## 7 r. XII 11, 37 v. III 13 “litigating in behalf, fighter of Ia” (cf. *AHw* p. 286b, *CAD* 5 p. 62b). Note the inconsistency of the syllabic writing.
- ³¹² Through *ù-lí-lum* “cleansing” in *MEE* 4 # 529 = part. D of *elēlum* “to be(come) clean” (*AHw* p. 197b, *CAD* 4 pp. 80b ff.) whereas the passage in *MEE* 4 has **šu-šilig** “clean hand”.
- ³¹³ In *ma-wu mu-tá-pár si-ù-tum* “expelling waters”: “pressure” ≈ **a-bala** “waters causing inundation”. For more information see *Earl Dial* p. 220, esp. n. 46.
- ³¹⁴ In *MEE* 4 # 215 *mu-ta-bil zi-kà-rí* is represented by **ka-sig** which corresponds approximately to Akk *tēltu(m)* [cf. *AHw* p. 1345b]. Consequently

muṭabil zikarī contains in *zikarī* a “mistaken” plural of *zikru* whereas *zikarī* should go with *zikaru(m)* “male” etc.

315 **šu-gíd-gíd** corresponds Akk *šamāṭum* “to detach, tear off” [*AHw* p. 1155b, *CAD* 17,1 pp. 308 ff.]. In *MEE* 4 # 529 it is represented by *mu-tá-bil-tù* “abstraction, removal” [*AHw* p. 1297b].

316 As *mu-sa/ša₁₀-tá-tum* in *MEE* 4 # 615 as Part. D fem. of *šētu / satu* (“to remain, be left over, escape”) ≈ **a-tak₄**, D is unattested for the Akk. (cf. *CAD* 17,2 pp. 341-343, *AHw* pp. 1033a and 1221b).

317 “midwife” in *MEE* 4 # 581 ≈ **ša-zu**; adduced in *AHw* p. 670b as OAb *mullūtum* “Erhörerin” allegedly belonging to *elû(m)* D, but to be understood as part. D of *walādum* on the premise of a “weak” character of this verb.

318 In *MEE* 4 # 392: “repression, slaughter” ≈ **giš-tu₁₀** ≅ **giš-hub**; cf. what is listed in *AHw* p. 148a and *CAD* 3 pp. 14-16 as *dabdû* “defeat, massacre”. Behind appears to be *abātum* “to destroy” *AHw* p. 5a. For the preformative *ma-* see above note 310.

319 See above note 308.

320 In *šu-ba-um* ≈ **igi-ub** “to look at something from afar, to examine” etc. of *MEE* 4 # 729 [cf. *CAD* 16 pp. 226a f., *AHw* pp. 1187b f.].

321 In *zu-mu₅-um* [for *mu₅* see *MEE* 4 ## 597 and 619] “to lack, miss, to be deprived of” ≈ **igi-ub** in *MEE* 4 # 729 [cf. *CAD* 21 p. 156, *AHw* p. 1536b f.].

322 In *MEE* 4 # 0024 (on p. 386) “to make happy” [cf. *CAD* 6 pp. 25 ff., *AHw* p. 308 and *Gelb OAWG* p. 191, *Glossary* pp. 126 f. and *Hecker GKT* § 95 (p. 161)].

323 In *MEE* 4 # 0026 (on p. 386) “to lay waste” [no D-stem attested for the Akk, the D-stem is treated as though it came from a kind of four-radical verb; cf. *AHw* p. 322b, *CAD* 6 pp. 87 f.].

324 Through *ù-šu-ru₁₁*-um* “to set free” in *MEE* 4 p. 313 # 1031b; (D of *wašārum*) ≈ **gú-kul**.

325 In *tá-tá-pi₅-lu*** of *MEE* 4 # 179 we have a Gt form of *apālum* “to answer” (*CAD* 1,2 pp. 155 b ff., *AHw* pp. 56a ff.) as is obvious from both the Sum equivalent **eme-bala** and the vocables *apālum*, *apīlum* and *aba’um* > *awûm* adduced ibid.

326 Based on a Gt formation of *awûm* this word appears to have acquired the meaning of “day of order, arrangement” as the Sum equivalent **du-du₁₁-ga** in *MEE* 4 # 238 indicates.

* *Gelb OAWG* p. 53 # 23a and Pettinato have *ru_x*.

** In this instance and the following samples the seemingly relatively frequent application of the preformative *t* + vowel is striking.

- ³²⁷ *ti-tá-pi₅-lum* ≈ **ka-di** in *MEE* 4 ## 186b and 0143 “to answer each other, converse, respond” ≅ Gt of *apālu(m)* (cf. *CAD* 1,2 pp. 155 b ff., *AHw* p. 57).
- ³²⁸ See *uš-du-mu-um* as inf. of the ŠD-stem of *damāmum* “to moan, lament” [this stem is not attested in the hitherto known dialects of Akkadian: cf. *CAD* 3 pp. 59b ff., *AHw* p. 155b]; in *MEE* 4 # 477: ≈ **giš-tùn**; see also n. 337.
- ³²⁹ *ti-iš-tá-ti-mu* “lasting protection”, an abstract based on the inf. Št of *te₆-mu(m)* (apparently unattested in Akk texts; see *AHw* p. 1385b ff.); in *MEE* 4 # 603: ≈ **a-bil-bil**; cf. *CAD* 3 pp. 59b ff., *AHw* 155b]; in *MEE* 4 # 477: ≈ **giš-tùn**; see also n. 330 f.
- ³³⁰ *tù-uš-tá-di-mu-um*: ŠDt of Akk *damamu(m)* as is indicated by the Sumerian “equivalent” **a-nir** in *MEE* 4 # 627.
- ³³¹ *tù-uš-tá-na-di-mu-um*: ŠDtn of foregoing *ibid*.
- ³³² *tù-uš-tá-i-i-lu-um* in *MEE* 4 # 801 ≈ ^d**en-en** = ŠDt of Akk *elû(m)* (cf. *CAD* 4 pp. 114b ff., *AHw* pp. 206 ff.).
- ³³³ See *MEE* 4 # 511b (where the Sum equivalent is **šu-ta-kal** “with a strong arm”) “to have sb. or sth. carried away” (ŠD of *√wbl*; cf. *AHw* pp. 1450 ff., 1297a ff.).
- ³³⁴ *tù-ú_z-tá-na-um* ≈ **ša-dīb-dīb** = inf. Dt of *zè-na-um* ≈ **ša-dīb** “to be angry” in *MEE* 4 ## 574 and 575. (Cf. *CAD* 21 pp. 85 f., *AHw* p. 1519).
- ³³⁵ In *tù-uš-tá-bi-um* ŠD-stem related to Akk *tebû(m)*; “to rise, move away” (*AHw* pp. 1342 f.) here ≈ **šu-ta-gur** [**gur** “to turn” ≈ *târu(m)*].
- ³³⁶ *ti-iš-tá-qi-lum* in *MEE* 4 # 1184, ≈ **lá-lá** and *'a-ba-ku_x-um** (meanings of both Eblaitic infinitives have not been made out, so far, with certainty. Cf., however, *CAD* 1,1 pp. 3 ff. and 13 pp. 72 ff., *AHw* pp. 895 f. and 2 f.).
- ³³⁷ In *MEE* 4 # 477 to be explained analogously to the infinitive above in n. 328.
- ³³⁸ In *šu-ra-da-mu* of *MEE* 1 ## 715, 760, *MEE* 2 ## 17 r. 17, 40 r. V 11, *ARET* III 692 r. VI 2, *ARET* IV ## 7 r. IV 19, 18 v. X 14, 19 v. IV 4, 23 r. VII 13', *ARET* VIII # 526 44:17 *šu-ra-ma-lik* *ARET* III #828 I 3, *šu-ra-qar/gàr-EN* *ARET* VIII ## 524 27:(XII) 3, 531 22: (IV) 14, *ARET* III # 60 r. IX 4 [for *qar/gàr* and *gamu* see Pomponio – Xella pp. 401 and 443 f., *Deimel Panth²* p. 67 # 627], *šu-ra-ummu* (UM) *MEE* 1 # 760, hypocoristic *šu-ra* *ibid.* # 2 (scarcely a “technical term” as Biga and/or Milano suggested in *ARET* IV p. 325 regarding several passages *ibid.*). “He (the deity) sent (the child)”; cf. Akk *warû(m)* Š; cf. *AHw* p. 1473b.
- ³³⁹ In *šu-pù-ul-ma-lik* of *MEE* 1 # 4939; “He had given an answer, replied”, cf. *CAD* 1,2 pp. 155b ff., *AHw* p. 57.

* For *gú* ≅ *ku_x* see *Gelb OAWG* p. 64 # 79.

340 In *šu-ma-ia* of *MEE* 1 # 100, *MEE* 2 ## 2 v. VI 8, 30 v. I 9, VI 9, *ARET* III
14 II 10, *ARET* IV 1 r. IX 3, 4 v. III 15, 25 r. III 7, *ARET* VIII # 542 17:
(VIII) 18, *šu-ma-dēš-tár* in *ARET* VIII # 525 38:16, *šu-ma-dku-ra* in *MEE* 1
746, 748, 826.

Scarcely causative attestations of the verb *awûm* which appears to have been *aba'um* (see above n. 325), these are forms of a verb *amû(m)* whose use was apparently discontinued in post-OAkk times (cf. *Stamm* p. 207, *AHW* p. 45b, *CAD* 1,2 p. 89b).

341 In *šu-ga-hum* of *ARET* III ## 203 V 5, 738 r. III 2, *ARET* IV # 9 r. II 8, *šu-ga-DU* (for *DU* see through foregoing note 307). Re. *šuga* “to cause (sb.) to be careless” – with the Š-stem unattested – see *CAD* 4 48 f., *AHW* p. 191a.

342 *Hecker EI* p. 206 with reference to *Gelb LdE* pp. 39 f.

343 *Kienast Nomina* p. 225.

344 See *Dombrowski Ebl Numbers* with reference to *Dombr. Numerals*, esp. p. 365. Noted should also be the principal and general agreement of the Eblaite grammatical elements with those of the Akkadian dialects, e.g., such as the formation of infinitives on *-um* and their presentation of cases of declination.

345 See *Creat* p. 193.

346 So, at several occasions, Wilfred G. Lambert, see, e.g., *Lambert AN* p. 393: “The Semitic language of the Ebla documents might be the language of the immediate source of the writing system, not the spoken language of the place, in which case the renderings of the bilingual lists would less likely be local creations. In any such consideration the one big list and the several smaller lists will have to be judged separately. The present writer <i.e. Lambert> feels that much more basic work remains to be done before these problems will be settled even so far as our evidence permits.” Unfortunately, I cannot concur with this distinguished colleague, especially (1) as our evaluation and estimation of the contents of personal names varies – see his *Language* p. 155 – and (2) Lambert – *ibid.* pp. 155 ff. – puts too much weight on letters of correspondence as linguistic evidence, in particular (3) on formal matters, such as the choice of words for the letter-introduction – *ibid.* pp. 156f. – not allowing for personal, temporal, and local variation.

347 *Language* p. 160.

348 *Ibid.*

349 A first attempt was made by *Archi PN*.

- [350] He notes: “Da sich ‘in Ebla’ fast alle PN semitisch assoziieren lassen,^[sic!] wenn man nur lange und geduldig genug in unseren Wörterbüchern sucht
....”*
- 351 *Edzard PN* pp. 26 f.
- 352 *Edzard* *ibid.* p. 29.
- 353 In *Ethn. Rec.* pp. 48 f. The emphasis is mine.
- 354 *L. c.* p. 50.
- 355 *L. c.* p. 51.
- 356 *L. c.* p. 34.
- 357 *Krecher Observations* p. 173. The emphasis is mine.
- 358 *Verbal Forms*.
- 359 See through *LdE*, *BE*, 1975-1985, *ARES I* and subsequent vols.
- 360 Here one may recall the references in some of foregoing notes, e.g., nos. 28, 33, 39, 48, 65, 73, 74, 111, 127, 133, 134, 136, 200, 261 f., 276, 310 and 318.

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* This old method of ‘Semitists’ and others in related Philologies appears exactly to be what he like others should have employed!

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- l'anthroponymie*
- MAD* *Materials for the Assyrian dictionary* (Chicago, Ill. 1961 ff.)
- MCS* **T. Fish** (ed. and publisher) *Manchester Cuneiform Studies* (Manchester 1951 ff.)
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- MEE 1* **G. Pettinato** and **A. Alberti** *Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh – Ebla* = *MEE 1* (1979)

<i>MEE 2</i>	G. Pettinato and F. Pomponio <i>Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L. 2769 part I</i> = <i>MEE 2</i> (1980)
<i>MEE 3</i>	G. Pettinato et al. <i>Testi lessicali monolingui della biblioteca L. 2769</i> (1981)
<i>MEE 4</i>	..., <i>Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769 part I</i> (1982)
<i>MJNESMS</i>	<i>Monographic Journals of the Near East. Syro-Mesopotamian Studies</i> (Malibu, Calif.)
<i>Müller LdE</i>	H.-P. Müller "Das eblaitische Verbalssystem nach den bisher veröffentlichten Personennamen" = <i>LdE</i> pp. 211-233
<i>MVAeG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig 1898 ff.)
<i>NAMES</i>	<i>Names. Journal of the American Name Society</i> (Detroit, Mich., and others)
<i>Names</i>	B. W. W. Dombrowski "Names in the Eblaitic language" (in preparation)
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<i>Noth IPN</i>	M. Noth <i>Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung</i> = <i>BWANT</i> 46 (Stuttgart 1928)
<i>OAWG</i>	see <i>Gelb</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i> (Rome)
<i>OrAnt</i>	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
<i>Pettinato ArEbla</i>	G. Pettinato <i>The archives of Ebla. An empire inscribed in clay</i> (Garden City, N.Y., 1981)
<i>Pettinato Testi cuneiformi</i>	... "Testi cuneiformi del 3. millennio in paleo-cananeo rinvenuti nella campagna 1974 a Tell Mardikh = Ebla" = <i>Or NS</i> 44 (1975) pp. 361-374
<i>Pomponio Nabû</i>	F. Pomponio <i>Nabû: Il culto e la figura di un dio del Pantheon babilonese ed assiro</i> = <i>StSem</i> 51 (1978)
<i>Pomponio – Xella</i>	... and P. Xella <i>Les dieux d'Ebla · Étude analytique des divinités éblaïtes à l'époque des archives royales du IIIe millénaire</i> = <i>AOAT</i> 245 (Münster 1997)
<i>PSD</i>	Å. W. Sjöberg <i>The Sumerian dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania</i> (Philadelphia current)
<i>QdS</i>	<i>Quaderni di Semitistica</i> (Florence)

- Reiner LAA* **E. Reiner** *A linguistic analysis of Akkadian* = *Janua linguarum series practica* 21 (The Hague etc., 1966)
- Renger GN* **J. Renger** "Götternamen in der altbabylonischen Zeit" = *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient · Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966* (Wiesbaden 1967) pp. 137-171
- RG* *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* = *Beihfte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* series B (Wiesbaden)
- RG 2* **D. O. Edzard** and **G. Farber** *Die Orts und Gewässernamen der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von UR* = *RG 2* (1974)
- RG 5* **K. Nashef** *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelassyrischen Zeit* = *RG 5* (1982)
- SEC* *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* (Kraków)
- Segert GPP* **S. Segert** *A grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich 1976)
- SLE* **P. Fronzaroli** *Studies on the language of Ebla* = *QdS* 13 (1984)
- Sollberger* see *ARET VIII*
- Stamm* **J. J. Stamm** *Die akkadische Namengebung* = *MVAeG* 44 (1939, repr. Darmstadt 1968)
- StEbl* *Studi Eblaiti* (Rome 1979 ff.)
- StSem* *Studi Semitici* (Rome 1958 ff.)
- StOrF* *Studia Orientalia (Fennica)* (Helsingfors)
- Studia Pohl* *Studia Pohl. Dissertationes scientificae de rebus Orientis Antiqui* (Rome 1967 ff.)
- Tallquist [Epith]* **K. Tallquist** *Akkadische Götterepitheta ...* = *StOrF* 7 (1938)
- Three Books* **B. W. W. Dombrowski** "Three Books and Jacob and Israel" = *The Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 1,1 (2000) pp. 133-146
- Van Dijk II* see **Falkenstein**
- VAS* *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig 1907 ff.)
- VAT* Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin (unpublished): texts
- von Soden Akk+ Ebl* **W. von Soden** "Sprachfamilien und Einzelsprachen im Altsemitischen: Akkadisch und Eblaitisch" = *SLE* pp. 11-24
- von Soden Einf* ... *Einführung in die Altorientalistik* (Darmstadt 1985; 1992)

<i>von Soden Ebla</i> 1975-1985	... “ <i>Itab/pal</i> und <i>Damu</i> : Götter in den Kulturen und in den theophoren Namen nach den Ebla-Texten” = <i>Ebla</i> 1975-1985 pp. 75-90
<i>von Soden Syll</i>	... and W. Röllig <i>Das akkadische Syllabar</i> = <i>AnOr</i> 42 (3 rd ed 1976)
<i>WVDOG</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig 1900 ff.)
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Wiesbaden and Stuttgart)

The other abbreviations used in this study are usual in the work of philologists and linguists.

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SHIRONGOL AND SHIRONGOLIC

On his geographical expedition to the Kokonor (Qinghai) region of Eastern Tibet in 1883-1886, the great Siberian explorer G. N. Potanin (1835-1920) made a preliminary ethnographic and linguistic survey of the local populations living in the Sino-Tibetan borderland historically known as the Tibetan province of Amdo (today mainly contained within the composition of the Chinese provinces of Gansu and Qinghai). Apart from the Amdo Tibetans, whom he called by the Mongol name Tangut (**tanguty**), Potanin identified four non-Chinese ethnic groups in the region: the Turkic Salar (**salary**), the Turko-Mongolic Yellow Uighur or Yughur (**ëgury**), the Mongolic Kokonor Oirat (**oiraty**), and the Mongolic Shirongol (**shirongoly**).

Among these groups, the Shirongol occupy a special position, for Potanin was both the first and the last to speak of a coherent Mongolic population with this particular name. It is true, the term Shirongol has been used also after Potanin in reference to his linguistic (mainly lexical) materials. Poppe (1955: 23), for instance, lists Shirongol as one of the linguistic entities (languages and dialects) of the “Monguor” group. In actual fact, as has been indicated by, for instance, Róna-Tas (1966: 15 note 7), Potanin used the term Shirongol as a collective name for several geographically, culturally, and linguistically distinct groups. These groups may today be identified with the modern ethnolinguistic entities of Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa.

In the current system of Chinese ethnic administration, the Mongghul, Mangghuer, and part of the Bonan speakers (living in Qinghai) are classified as forming the “Monguor” (**Tu**) nationality, while the rest of the Bonan speakers (living in Gansu), as well as the Santa, are recognized as two separate minority nationalities (**Baoan** and **Dongxiang**). This official classification is primarily based on cultural and geographical, rather than linguistic, criteria. The principal common feature of the three “Monguor” groups is their adherence to the Buddhist religion, which distinguishes them from the Santa and the (officially recognized) Bonan, who are Muslims. Linguistically, however, all the three “Monguor” groups are very different from each other, rendering any direct communication between them more or less impossible.

Under such circumstances, it is interesting, indeed, that Potanin, without regard to the actual linguistic and cultural differences, applied the uniform ethnonym Shirongol to all the populations concerned. He personally met and interviewed representatives of the principal “Shirongol” groups, though his most intensive contacts were with the Mangghuer of the Minhe (Sanchuan) valley, where he spent the winter 1884-1885. Although not trained as a linguist, he was apparently guided by an idea that the languages spoken by the “Shirongol”, in spite of substantial differences, shared certain similarities that allowed them to be treated as a single subgroup of Mongolic.

However, since there is no synchronic sense of ethnic unity among the “Shirongol” populations of Potanin, and since the ethnonym Shirongol is not used by any of these populations, the inevitable question is: where did Potanin get this curious term? In his travelogue, Potanin (1893: 342-343) mentions that he learnt the term from a local guide, himself a “Shirongol”, who accompanied him from Ordos to Amdo. Moreover, he tells us that he never heard anyone else use this term. The regular names applied by the neighbouring populations for the “Shirongol” were, in Potanin’s notation, **tuzheñ** (by the Chinese), **dalda** or **doldo** (by the Oirat), and **chzhaxur** (by the Amdo Tibetans). All of these are well known from other sources, while the term Shirongol remains an idiosyncrasy of Potanin’s ethnic nomenclature.

Potanin also mentions (ibid.) that he actually chose the term Shirongol almost accidentally, mainly because it was easier to adapt to the Russian patterns of nominal declension than **dalda**, which had been used to denote part of the Kokonor Mongols by his predecessor N. M. Przhevalskii. Potanin was nevertheless convinced that the “Shirongol” were an actual ethnic entity with ancient roots in local history and folklore. According to his informant, the ethnonym was etymologically to be connected with the noun *shoroi* ‘earth, land’, while historically the “Shirongol” were identical with the “Shiraigol”, as mentioned in the Geser epic. The “Shirongol” were supposed to have had a kingdom on the Upper Yellow River with the capital at Lanzhou. This kingdom was ultimately conquered by Geser Khan.

Without going into the folkloric aspects of the problem, we may immediately note that the etymological identification made by Potanin’s informant is likely to be based on a folk etymology, possibly triggered by the Chinese reference to the “Monguor” as the ‘Local People’ or ‘Earth People’ (**Turen**). Potanin does not specify his own opinion concerning the structure of the term, but he may have correctly segmented it as **shiro-n-gol**, with the last component **-gol** meaning ‘river, valley’ and the middle component **-n-** acting as an attributive marker (genitive ending). However, the compound meaning ‘river of the earth’ or ‘local valley’ remains unsubstantiated.

It happens that Potanin's ethnonym is recorded, as it seems, independently in the Mongghul dictionary of Li Keyu (1988: 649), which has the entry **xiranghul** 'river basin; lowland' (Chinese **hehuang**), with the clarifying example **mongghul kun xiranghul ghajardu sauja** 'the Mongghul people live in a lowland region'. Although registered as a general topographic term, the example might also refer specifically to the Huangshui basin (with the **huang** of **hehuang**), or even to the basin of the Upper Yellow River (Chinese **He** = the **he** of **hehuang**). However this may be, the lexical connection with Potanin's Shirongol is beyond any doubt.

Mongghul **xiranghul** (*shira-n+ghul*) 'river basin' appears to confirm that the ethnonym Shirongol contains, indeed, the element **gol* 'river', Mongghul **ghul** (*ghul*) 'valley'. In principle, the shape of the word may also give a hint concerning its dialectal adherence, since syllable-final *l* is today a feature of the Halchigol (**Halqighul**) dialect of Mongghul, while the Naringol (**Naringhul**) dialect, as recorded by Mostaert & de Smedt (1933), has merged it with *r*, as in *ghuor* 'river'. Mangghuer also has *r*, but, curiously, in Potanin's Minhe (Sanchuan) materials the distinction between **l* and **r* is preserved, as in **gal* > **gal** (*ghal*) 'fire' vs. **gar* > **gar** (*ghar*), suggesting that the dialect recorded by him was more archaic than modern Mangghuer.

At this point, it has to be mentioned that Potanin's "Shirongol" informant was reportedly a native of Minhe (Sanchuan) and hence, apparently, a speaker of an idiom ancestral to modern Mangghuer, rather than Mongghul. As Louis Schram (1954: 24) notes, the informant (called **Santan-dzhimba** by Potanin) was, in fact, the same person whom the French missionary E.-R. Huc (1850) had known much earlier under a slightly different name (**Samdadchiemba**). Assuming that this interpretation of his person and dialectal identity is correct, it appears likely that the term **xiranghul**, today recorded only from Mongghul, was once also used in the Mangghuer area. There is, however, no synchronic verification of the term from the Mangghuer language.

A consultation of modern native speakers of Mongghul and Mangghuer gives results congruent with the above considerations. Thus, the presence of the word **xiranghul** (*shiranghul*) in Mongghul is confirmed by a native speaker (Dr. Limusishiden), while Mangghuer speakers (Dr. Wang Xianzhen, Mr. Zhu Yongzhong) do not seem to recognize it. Apart from its appellative meaning, the Mongghul word is also reported to be used as a toponym with reference to a village (Xiranghul village of Wushi Township, Huzhu County, Qinghai). It is true, this particular toponymic application has probably no immediate relevance to Potanin's ethnonymic usage, for the basic appellative meaning may well have yielded local toponyms in several separate locations, including village sites ('Valley Village', or 'Lowland Village').

Interestingly, the modern Mongghul speakers are reported to identify the element **xira-** of **xiranghul** with the colour term **xira** (*shira* < **sira*) ‘yellow’. In the appellative meaning the transition of ‘yellow valley’ into ‘lowland’ might appear somewhat unexpected, but the identification could possibly be supported by the toponymic fact that the “Shirongol” occupy parts of the Upper Yellow River basin. Although the Yellow River is normally called ‘the Queen River’ (**Qaduv Qhuul**) in Mongol, the expression ‘Yellow River’ (*shara gol*) is also attested marginally (in Ordos folklore) by Mostaert (1941-1944: 608a). However, the apparent genitive construction in what would be **sira-(i)n+gol*, literally ‘river/valley of the yellow’, would not be congruent with the normal rules of Mongolic nominal phrase structure. The whole identification is therefore likely to involve another folk etymology.

Looking for the actual etymological explanation of the term Shirongol, it appears best to proceed from the general topographic meaning ‘river valley; lowland’. Potanin mentions that his informant occasionally replaced the ethnonym Shirongol by the longer expression “Shirongol Mongol”. In view of the meaning ‘lowland’, this could mean that the “Shirongol” are actually to be understood as ‘the Mongols of the Lowland’. The ‘Lowland’ in question could very well be the Upper Yellow River basin, or, more specifically, the Huangshui basin (or even the Sanchuan area).

Irrespective of whether Mongghul **xiranghul** is a topographic term or a toponym, it obviously contains the genitive ending **-n-** and the appellative noun **ghul** ‘river, valley’. It has to be noted, however, that **-n-** (*-n-*) is not a regular genitive ending in Mongghul, for the regular ending in all the Mongolic languages of the Kokonor region is *-ni* (Mongghul **-ni**). This suggests that the compound underlying Mongghul **xiranghul** was lexicalized a long time ago, allowing it to undergo the somewhat irregular development from **shira-ni+ghul* to *shira-n+ghul*. In this process, the original semantic structure of the word is also likely to have been obscured.

What is, then, the identity of the initial component *shira-* (Mongghul **xira-**)? Since a connection with Mongghul **xira** (*shira*) ‘yellow’ and **xiruu** (*shiruu*) ‘earth’ is unlikely, the only material point of reference in Mongghul would seem to be offered by **xira** (*shira*) ‘leg’. In modern Mongghul, this word is mainly used in the combination **tiruu xira** ‘head and legs’, as in **tiruu xira gui** ‘without head and legs’ = ‘in complete disorder’. This expression is also registered by Mostaert & de Smedt (1933: 397) for the Naringol dialect in the shape *turuu shiraa ugui* (with the final vowel of *shiraa* lengthened probably under the influence of *turuu* ‘head’).

The Mongghul word **xira** (*shira*) ‘leg’ goes back to Proto-Mongolic **sixirA* (or **sixere*) and is also well known from Written Mongol (**sigire** or

sigare) and Mongol proper (*shiir*) in the primary meaning ‘shank, leg (of animals)’. However, it is easy to imagine that the word could have secondarily come to mean ‘lower part’, or even ‘lowland’. This semantic transition is, indeed, observed in two other Mongolic languages of the region, Santa and Bonan. For Santa, the dictionary of A Shelefu & A Yibulaheimai (2001: 432) registers **xira** [noun] ‘lower part; down’ (Chinese **xiamian**, **wangxia**), while for Bonan Todaeva (1964: 152) gives *shera* ‘down; below’. Neither Santa nor Bonan seems to retain the basic meaning ‘leg’.

In the absence of any alternative etymology, there is no reason to doubt the derivation of Santa-Bonan ‘lower part’ from Common Mongolic ‘leg’. This connection is, as it seems, independently confirmed by Mongghul **xiranghul**, in which **xira-** is most naturally understood as meaning ‘lower part; lowland’. The compound may therefore be translated as ‘valley of the lowland; lower valley’, a most natural term for referring to the Upper Yellow River basin, which was once one of the centers of the “Monguor” expansion. Of course, the term could also be used of any of the smaller adjoining valleys.

Phonologically, it should be noted that the items **sixirA* ‘leg’ and **sira* ‘yellow’ have merged in modern Mongghul, both yielding **xira** (*shira*). The extant sources suggest a distinction in the initial consonants in Santa, which has **shira** (*srira*) ‘yellow’ (with a retroflex sibilant), as opposed to **xira** (*shira*) ‘lower part’ (with a palatal sibilant). Bonan, on the other hand, seems to have a difference in the vowels, cf. *shira* ‘yellow’ vs. *shera* ‘lower part’. In both idioms it seems to be the item for ‘lower part’ that has an unexpected shape, suggesting that there may be a connection with the original structure of the word (the long vowel element in **siirA* < **sixirA*).

It may be concluded that Potanin’s ethnonym Shirongol (**siira-ni+ghul*) reflects an elliptic usage of the concept of Shirongol Mongol ‘the Mongols of the lowland’. This ethnonym is basically a descriptive expression referring to the Mongghul and/or Mangghuer populations, and its extension to cover also the Bonan and Santa populations was an innovation of Potanin himself. It remains unclear how widely used and understood the concept of Shirongol Mongols was at the time of Potanin’s visit. Although the term was hardly coined by Potanin’s informant, it probably had no widespread use as an actual ethnonym until Potanin took it up. In any case, all the “Shirongol” groups have today identities built upon other ethnonyms.

However, although the term Shirongol may be regarded as obsolete in the sense suggested by Potanin, there is no need to discard it altogether. The information available on the languages spoken by the “Shirongol” has only recently reached the qualitative and quantitative level that allows serious diachronic and comparative work to be initiated. Although it is too early to say what the exact

taxonomic relationships between the Mongolic languages of the Kokonor region are, there is increasing evidence that, at least structurally, these languages have much in common with each other. Potanin's idea that they form a distinct branch of Mongolic is therefore justified, perhaps not yet in the genetic framework, but certainly in the areal sense.

It is therefore obvious that there should exist a single technical term covering all the languages and dialects of the "Shirongol" populations. Terms based on geographical specifications (Amdo/Kokonor/Gansu-Qinghai/Yellow-River) are conspicuously clumsy and involve historical (and even political) problems, while all of the actual ethnonyms in use today (notably "Monguor") are too specific to be used in a generalizing function. The best solution is, indeed, to adopt Potanin's Shirongol as the general (genetic or areal) cover term for the modern entities of Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. To what extent the language of the Mongolic Yellow Uighur (Shira Yughur) can also be comprised by this term remains to be clarified.

In the proposed taxonomic usage, the (English) shape **Shirongolic** [a genetic/areal subgroup of Mongolic] may be recommended. With the concept and name thus (re)established, efforts should be made to intensify research on the Shirongolic languages, which long remained the last white spot on the map of Mongolic studies. In spite of the recent accumulation of descriptive material, Shirongolic still offers considerable challenges to innovative linguistic field work and practical language planning, not to mention the prospects of diachronic and comparative research. Perhaps most importantly, Shirongolic as an areal complex (in relation to its non-Mongolic neighbours) is a laboratory example of the manifestations of language contact.

Note on Transcription

In this paper, linguistic material is quoted in a simplified phonemic notation (in italics). Orthographical material is quoted (in boldface) using either the original orthography (Mongghul), an orthographical transcription (Chinese Pinyin), or a transliteration (Written Mongol, Russian).

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**PERSIAN CHECKMATE – ‘THE KING IS OPPRESSED’
ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CHESSMEN’S NAMES**

Chess – the most popular ‘war-game’ game for two, with 16 pieces each, played on a chequered board of 64 squares – has developed out of various Indian games. Its immediate predecessor was ‘four-handed’ *Chaturanga*,¹ invented between the 2nd and 5th century.² In this ancient game, which made use of a dice,³ four teams of 8 pieces were fighting for a final victory. The name *Chaturanga* (Skr. *catur-aṅga*- ‘having four ranks, limbs’) refers to the four members of the Indian army: chariots (Skt. *rāthah*), elephants (Skt. *hastī*), cavalry (Skt. *āsavaḥ*) and infantry (Skt. *padātīḥ*). In India, it has been played on *ash-tapada*⁴ (Skt. *aṣṭā-pada*- ‘having eight feet’) board. This word is attested in the Sanskrit texts in relation to various games, but the only thing that we are sure of is that it was for a dice game.⁵ Even if we do not know exactly what kind of game was played on the *ashtapada* board before 600 C.E., it is certain that it was very popular. According to the earliest Persian traditions, this Indian board game reached Persia by the 6th century of our era. Although it is probable that

¹ Beside the more conventional ‘two-handed’ *chaturanga*, which is very much like the Persian *šatrang*, in India there is still popular a ‘four-handed’ *chaturanga*, also called by some authors *chaturaji* (‘four kings’).

² Some authors claim that chess was invented in China (*wei-chi*, *go* games), see: H.A. Davidson: 1949, H. Golombek: 1976, cf. also *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Chess Games*, Oxford University Press 1983.

³ It should be stressed that chess and dice were by no mean incompatible. Muslims played oblong chess (over a 4×16 board) with a dice. Dice were often used in medieval Europe as an alternative of the regular play (for instance in *Hugon de Bordeaux*, a French romance from the 13th century). Al-Biruni describes an Indian variant of chess, played with a pair of dice by four players on an ordinary board eight squares on a side.

⁴ MP *hašt-pāy*, as the name of a game, is mentioned in a treatise *Xusraw ud rēdag* (Khosrow and his page). The page declares, that he is superior to his comrades in chess, backgammon and *hashtpay* (15).

⁵ It is true that the Indians did not pay much attention to writing the rules of their games, as the Persians or the Arabs did.

chess were known and played in Persia at the end of the Sasanian rule, the earliest certain evidence comes from the period of the Islamic conquest. The Book Pahlavi texts, which mention chess, cannot be accepted as historical sources since they are conventional and represent post-Sasanian redactions.⁶ Chess spread from Persia to the Arabs⁷ and other Muslim peoples, who then carried it along with the *Koran* all the way across North Africa into Spain and France, within less than one hundred years. It subsequently traveled to Byzantium and Europe, where it was already known before the Crusades. This is the reason why chess seems to have appeared everywhere almost simultaneously. The game in Europe prior to 1475 was still substantially identical to that played by the Persians, Indians and Arabs in the 7th century. Indeed, the terms: Persian chess, Indian chess, Arabic chess and medieval chess had been used more or less interchangeably since there seemed to be no known lasting differences between the games. We know from the writings of Lucena (of 'Lucena position' fame) that the modern form of chess was invented, or at least codified, in Italy during the period from 1475 to 1497 A.D. and spread rapidly across Europe. There were constant experiments with different types of pieces, such as griffins, unicorns and other strange animals, just as there are even today.⁸ This game brought together three features which medieval chess did not have: the modern Queen, the modern Bishop and en passant Pawn capturing.⁹ These major

⁶ These three Pahlavi texts are: *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* (The book of the deeds of Ardashir I, son of Pabag), *Xusrāw ud rēdag* (Khosrow and his page), and *Wizārišn ī Čatrang ud nihišn ī nēw-ardaxšīr* (The explanation of chess and the invention of backgammon). The stories recorded there are clearly legendary and thus cannot be reliable. Moreover, they give no certain indication of the date when chess was introduced into Persia.

⁷ According to the Muslim tradition, only a few years after the death of Mohammad in 642 A.D., the Caliphs Omar and Ali already knew of the game and perhaps played it themselves. (Some more present day Muslims, however, maintain that chess playing is a sin and such a thing could never have happened.) In any event, it is a proven historical fact that in the Omayyad period of the Syrian rule in the eighth century, which started with the death of Ali, chess was popular throughout the Muslim world. Needless to say, an endorsement of the caliph (or of Ali, the first Imam, depending upon which branch of Islam one happened to belong to) was sufficient to insure that all Muslims would take up the game. Cf. S. Sloan, *The Origin of Chess*, Sloan Publishers 1985.

⁸ In Great chess (*šatranj-e kabir*), played with 56 men, 28 on each side, on a board with 112 squares, there were also extra pieces: two giraffes (*zarrāfa*), two lions (*šīr*), two battering rams (*dabbāba*) and two camels (*oštōr*).

⁹ No doubt, the modern Bishop and the modern Queen were first thought of long before 1497. The Queen, which formerly could move only one square at a time diagonally, was given the power to move along the entire board both diagonally and in a straight line. This version of play was called *de la dama* (in the style of Queen), in contrast to *del viejo* (the old style), cf. Utas, *EL*, p. 395.

changes were made more or less simultaneously and the old game was almost immediately forgotten.¹⁰

The Chessmen

The arrangement of the pieces was mentioned in the Pahlavi text *Wizārišn ī čatrang ud nihišn ī nēw-ardaxšīr* (The explanation of chess and the invention of backgammon), where we read:

Sacīdarm ēn čatrang pad čim (ī) kārezār homānāg kard. U-š homānāg dō sar-xwadāy kard, šāh ō mādayān, rax ō hōyag ud daš-nag homānāg, frazēn ō artēštārān-sālār homānāg, pīl ō puštībānān-sālār homānāg, ud asp ō aswārān-sālār homānāg, payādag ō ān ham payādag homānāg pēš-razm. (9-10)

“Sacīdarm¹¹ (Skt. **Satya-dharma*-) made this game of chess like a battle. He made the two chiefs like the Kings, (with their) lifeguards – the Rooks on the left and right flanks, the Farzin to resemble the chief of the warriors, the Elephant to resemble the chief of the bodyguards, the Horse to resemble the chief of the horsemen (riders, cavalry), (and) the Pawns to resemble the foot-soldiers, in the front line.”¹²

Ferdowsi, retelling this story in his *Šāhnāme* (VIII), followed the description of the pieces very closely: *šāh, rox, dastur (farzāna), pil, asb* and *piyāda*. He also mentioned an extra piece in the shape of a camel (*oštōr*) on each side,

¹⁰ The oldest game in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Chess Games* is dated 1490, and even that does not play legally according to the rules of modern chess. Cf. Levy, D. & O’Connell, K. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Chess Games*, Oxford University Press 1983.

¹¹ *Sacīdarm* – name of an Indian sovereign (Nyberg: 171). According to the Pahlavi text, during the reign of Khosrow Sacīdarm set up the game of *chatrang* (16 pieces of diamonds and 16 pieces of red ruby) and sent it as a riddle to the king of Persia. In a letter to Khosrow, he wrote: ‘As your name is the King of Kings, all your emperors over us connote that your wise men should be wiser than ours. Either you send us an explanation of this game, or send revenue and tribute to us.’ Wazurgmihr, the famous Grand Vizier of Khosrow, solved the riddle and explained that game quickly.

¹² “Divsaram made this game of chess like war. He made the two generals like the Kings (who are) essential for the left and the right, the Farzin to resemble the chief of the warriors, the Elephant to resemble the chieftain protecting the rear, the Knight to resemble the chief of the horsemen, (and) the Pawns to resemble the foot-soldiers who lead in battle”, translation by J.C. Tarapore, *Vijārišn ī Chatrang*, Bombay 1932.

between the Elephant and the Horse. These names were borrowed or translated into Arabic, whence some of them found their way into European languages.¹³ Now let us look at the original meaning of the Persian chessmen's names.

King

MP *šāh* > NP *šāh* (Ar. lw. *al-šāh*) 'king, ruler; the King in chess' (McK 79, Nyberg 183) < OP *xšāyaθiya-* 'king' (**kšāiatīa-*) < OP *xšay-*, Av. *xšā(y)-*, Skt. *kṣā-* 'to rule, possess' (Kent 181). The names of this figure in all European games are not influenced by this Persian word, they simply denote 'king': Fr. *Roi*, Sp. *Rey*, Germ. *König*, Pol. *Król*, Russ. *Король*. This is due to the fact that NP *šāh* was the base for another term, indicating the exposure of the King to direct attack from an opposing piece or an announcement of this by the attacking player¹⁴: Sp. *jaque*, Germ. *Schach*, Pol. *szach*, Russ. *uax*; cf. also Fr. *chèque*, Engl. *check*.¹⁵

The King occupies the central position on the board, and the main objective of this game is checkmating it. Only the Spanish name of the game: *ajedrez* (also Port. *xadrez*) derives its name from the New Persian *šatrang*, *šatranj* < MP *čatrang* (NP form was changed due to the Arabic pronunciation *al-šatranj*, *al-šitranj*). Other European languages call it 'the game of kings, the kings' game': Fr. *échec*,¹⁶ Engl. *chess*, It. *scacchi*, Germ. *Schach(spiel)*, Pol. *szachy* ('kings'). These forms developed under the influence of the term: *šāh-māt*¹⁷ (the final movement which prevents the opponent's king from being moved away from a direct attack), cf. Sp. *jaque y mate*, *jaqui mate*, It. *scacco matto*, Fr. *échec et mat*, Engl. *checkmate* (cf. Russ. *uaxматы* 'chesspieces' lit. 'check-mates'), Germ. *schachmatt*,¹⁸ Pol. *szach i mat*. It is generally supposed that *māt*

¹³ Old Persian artwork, such as that shown by Golombek (pp. 31, 36, 53), shows them of the pieces written in Arabic on the board, rather than stand-up pieces.

¹⁴ Pers. *šāhšāh* 'check' or *begard* (lit. 'turn back!') in Ferdowsi's *Šāhnāme*.

¹⁵ Fr. *chèque*: angl. *cheque*, altération, d'après *exchequer bill* 'billet du Trésor', de *check* "contrôle", de *to check* "contrôler", littéralement "faire échec", issu du fr. *eschec*. Cf. Picoche: 229.

¹⁶ "D'une forme *eschac*, *eschec* (du frq. **skāk*) anciennement attestée au plur. seulement du persan *shāh* 'roi', employé dans la locution *shāh māt* 'le roi est mort'" (Picoche: 229).

¹⁷ Also: *bord o māt* 'check and mate', where *bord* 'gained at play'. In Persian 'check' also: *keš*, *kešt* from *koštan* 'to strike, kill' (beside *zadan* 'to hit'). These forms were introduced much later, on analogy to Arabic *māt*, which the Iranians, and many Iranologists, still consider to be an Arabic word meaning: 'is dead'.

¹⁸ Here possibly Germ. *matt* 'schwach, dull' > Engl. *mat*, *matt* 'without lustre, dull (in surface)', *mate* 'to confound, subdue, crush', Pol. *matowy* 'dull'.

‘he died, he is dead’ is the Arabic perfect of the verb ‘to die’,¹⁹ but, as Bo Utas suggests in *El*, this seems unlikely since the early usage implies that Arabic *al-šāhmāt* was a loanword from Persian.²⁰ Moreover, the very point of the story, as told in *Šāhnāme*, is that King is made powerless and paralysed without being hit by anybody²¹; other pieces get killed (NP *košte*), but the King becomes *māt*, i.e. ‘broken, oppressed’. This word, which must be of an Iranian origin (like the rest of chess terms), appears in various Eastern Iranian languages, both old and modern, with the meaning ‘broken, paralysed’: Pashto *māt* ‘broken’ (Morgenstierne 48), Ormuri *maštak*, *mazm-* ‘to break’, Khotan Saka *māṣṭa-* ‘oppression, oppressed’ < **maz-* ‘to press’ < PIE **maǵ-* ‘to knead, press, smear’²² (Bailey 330). The evidence of Khotan Saka *māṣṭa-*, with its clear Iranian etymology, is especially precious since this language, spoken in the Khotan kingdom (between 300 and 1000 A.D) and known mainly from the Buddhist texts, was free from Arabic influence.

Queen

MP *frazēn* [plcyn] > NP *farzin* (Ar. lw. *al-firzān*), *farzi* (Amid 909); *farzinband* ‘position in which a pawn is protected by the Queen in order to block the forward movement of a hostile piece, whose only chance of advancing is to take the pawn’.

“*Fracīn* – the next highest man in chess, in Oriental terminology ‘the Vizier’” (Nyberg 74). This figure, which moves one square diagonally, was to resemble the chief of the warriors (*frazēn ō artēštārān-sālār homānāg*). Both Nyberg’s and MacKenzie’s suggestions as to its etymology, given in their dictionaries, are wrong. Nyberg states that: “Arab. lw. *firzān* is a secondary sg. formed from **farazīn*, which was understood as a broken pl. *farāzīn*, cf. *παράδειος*: *farā-dīs*: *firdaus-*”. McKenzie, quite differently, claims that this word lit. means ‘guard’ (McK 33). In fact, this word derives from Av. *fra-zan-* ‘to find out’ (AiW 1659), cf. MP *frazānag* ‘learned, wise, intelligent’. So, originally this figure represented a wise person, i.e. king’s advisor, chancellor, minister, counsellor. In *Šāhnāme* it is called also *dastur* ‘minister’. When chess was

¹⁹ K. Lokotsch 1443: Ar. *mātta* ‘er ist gestorben, tot’; F. Steingass 1136, who marks this word with *a*, suggests that it is common to both languages, Persian and Arabic, without proof positive to which it belongs originally, and translates: ‘he died, he is dead, reduced to the last extremity (at chess); astonished, amazed’.

²⁰ B. Utas, *The History of Chess in Persia*, *El*, p. 395.

²¹ Cf. Murray, p. 159.

²² Cf. Greek *μαγ-, μάσσω* ‘to press’, Celt. Bret. *meza* ‘to knead’, Welsh *maeddu* ‘to fight’.

introduced to Europe, this piece was re-named: *Queen*²³ (Eng. *Queen*, Pol. *Królowa* (also: *Baba* ‘woman’, *Pani* ‘mistress’, *Dama* ‘lady’), Russ. *Королева*, *Ферзь* (Pers. loanword). In New Persian also a new term has been introduced: *wazir* ‘minister’,²⁴ Pol. *Hetman*.

Bishop

MP *pīl* [pyl] > NP *pīl*, *fil* (Ar. lw. *al-fil*) ‘elephant’, cf. Sogd. *pīd* [pyδh], Parth. *pyl*, Khwar. *pyz* (Gharib 8327), OP *piru-* ‘ivory’ (of Semitic origin, cf. Akk. *pīlu*), Skt. *pīluḥ* ‘elephant’ (Kent 197, KEWA II 296).

Pīl ō puštībānān-sālār homānāg.

“The Elephant resembling the chief of the bodyguards.”

In the old game of *Chatrang* this figure occupied a position next to the King and Queen and is hence mentioned in the Pahlavi text immediately after the *Farzin*. It now occupies the last corner square on the board on either side at the beginning of the game.²⁵ This square was in *Chatrang* given to the Rook or Ship,²⁶ which had moves peculiar to itself. At some later date a double transposition took place. The Elephant and the Rook exchanged positions, one going in the other’s place. The pieces retained their moves but changed their titles. The Elephant assumed the name of Rook, which it had displaced and is now

²³ The Queen was first invented in Italy in the fifteenth century, long after the other branches of the tree had divided. The old name is still used in Persia and India by chess players.

²⁴ In Great chess (*šatranj-e kabir*) *farzin* and *wazir* are two distinct pieces with different moves.

²⁵ Placing Elephants in the corner and the piece with the Rook move close to the King is also a long Indian tradition, noted by al-Adli in 840. Then, the situation has been very confusing, and the names of the pieces have been switched as well. In short, in Indian chess description, the Elephant is given either a1 or c1 square, and 3 possible moves, depending on the source: a 2-step diagonal leap (like in *šatranj*), a 2-step orthogonal leap or a the Rook move.

²⁶ The use of Ships instead of Chariots in the 4-Handed *Chaturanga* and their switched positions with the Elephants, here placed at the corners of the board. However, this is merely a reflection of chess habits in India and is in complete line with the situation of the 2-Handed *Chaturanga* at the same period. The use of Ship (*Nauka*) is only accounted in Raghunandana’s *Tithitattva*, which comes not before the late 15th century. Al-Biruni had a Chariot (*Rook*). This is probably a consequence of the use of Arabic style piece where the Rook was depicted with a large “V” slot, which could be interpreted as a boat shape. *Nauka* has been often used later, in Bengal especially (S. Sloan, *The Origin of Chess*, Sloan Publishers 1985). Cf. also Russ. *Ладья* ‘boat’.

called the *Rook* in Europe,²⁷ though it retains its old name in India. The Rook of India is now called the *Bishop* in Europe (Pol. *Ksiądz*, *Kaplan*, *Pop* ‘priest’, *Mnich* ‘monk’) and has assumed the name of the Camel in India (it is called *oštor* ‘camel’ in the *Šāhnāme*). Another European names: Germ. *Läufer* ‘runner, messenger’ (Pol. *Laufer*, *Goniec*), Ros. *Офудер* ‘officer’, Pol. *Giermek* ‘armour-bearer’, *Strzelec* ‘shooter’. It is still ‘elephant’ in Russian: *Слон* (Polish *Słoń* is quite a different piece!) and in several other languages to this day: e.g. Spanish: *Alfil* (from the Arabic *al-fīl*), It. *alfido*, *alfino*, OFr. *Aufin* > Fr. *Fou*. As to the Bishop, only Japanese chess has a western style Bishop, but the Japanese believe that this coincidence is relatively modern.²⁸ However, we know that the modern Bishop is a purely western innovation that was derived from the Elephant, most likely in the fifteenth century.

Knight

MP *asp* > NP *asp*, *asb* (Ar. *al-faras*²⁹ ‘horse’) < Av. *aspa-*, OP *asa-*, Skt. *ásva-* (Kent 173).

Asp ō aswārān-sālār homānāg.

“The Horse resembling the chief of the horsemen.”

In the European chess the piece is known as ‘knight’: Pol. *Jezdny* ‘rider’, *Rycerz* ‘knight’, Fr. *Cavalier* (from *cheval* ‘horse’),³⁰ and also ‘horse’: Sp. *Ca-ballo*, Pol. *Koń*, Russ. *Конь*. Germ. *Springer*, Pol. *Skoczek*, *Skakun* ‘jumper’ derive their name from the movement of this figure.³¹

²⁷ This piece is the Castle or Rook in chess as now played.

²⁸ In Japanese chess, each side has only one Bishop, and that starts out at an unlikely spot directly in front of the left side Knight. These dissimilarities indicate either that the Japanese Bishop was developed independently from the western Bishop and the similarities between them are purely a matter of chance, or that westerners brought the Bishop to Japan (or the Japanese took their Bishop to the west) in relatively modern times.

²⁹ Ar. *faras* ‘Pferd’, *fāris* ‘Reiter, Ritter’ > Sp. *alferez*, It. *alfiere* ‘Läufer im Schachspiel’, Pol. *farys* ‘Beduinenhäuptling’ (Lokotsch: 586, 591).

³⁰ The Persian word for a chess piece is *savār* ‘rider, lit. on horseback’ (< OP *asa-bara-*).

³¹ The movement is the same in all games, except that the horse cannot jump in the Chinese chess. The Chinese say that this restriction was a more modern innovation, to reduce the power of the horse.

Castle, Rook

MP *mādayār* [m'tgd'l] 'steward' (McK 53) < *mātag-dār* < **mātaka-dāra*- (cf. Arm. lw. *matakarar* 'administrator'), where *mādag* 'the essential element of anything; its core, essence' + *dār* 'having' (present stem of the verb *dāštan*), also MP *mādagwar* 'principal, essential, chief', *mādayān* (< **mādag-dān*) 'essence, basis, core, essential; chief; the main body, the centre of an army, as opposed to the right and the left flank, the lifeguards of the king' (MP 53, Nyberg 128-9). The name of this piece is also 'Chariot' in Persian chess³²:

Rax ō hōyag ud dašnag homānāg.
 "The Rooks on the left and right flanks."

MP *rah* [ls], *rox* 'chariot, wagon' (McK 70) > NP *rox* (Ar. *al-rux*) < Av., OP *raθa*- 'wagon', KhS *rraka* 'car', Skt. *rāthaḥ* 'chariot, car, two-wheeled war-chariot', Lat. *rota* 'wheel', PIE **ret*-, *reth*- 'run' (KEWA III 38, Bailey 360, Kent 205). This word was brought to Europe by the Arabs: Ar. *al-rux* > Sp. *Roque* (*enrocar* 'to castle the king'), Port. *Roque*, It. *Rocco* (*arrocare*), Fr. *Roc* 'castle' (*roquer* 'to castle', *rocade* 'castling', Germ. *rochieren*, Pol. *roszada*), Engl. *Rook*, Pol. *Roch*. Other names: Sp. *Torre*, Germ. *Turm*, Pol. *Wieża* 'tower' (also *Słoń* 'elephant!'), Russ. *Ладья* (lit. 'boat'³³), *Тыра* 'tower', Engl. *Castle* (cf. *šatranj-e dawāt al-hosun* 'chess with castles' – a game played on a board with 10 by 10 squares, where the four corner squares are called *hesn* 'castle').

Pawn

MP *payādag* [pd'tk'] 'on foot, foot-soldier, walking' < **padātiya*- (McK 66), cf. Skt. *padāti*-, KhS *pāti* 'pedestrian' > NP *piyāde*³⁴ and arabicized forms: *baydaq*, *bedaq*, *beyzaq* (Ar. *al-bayzaq*) 'foot-soldier'. Cf. NP *peyk* 'Bote, Fußgänger' (Horn 80) > Tur. *peyk*, OPol. *paik*, *pajuk* (17-18th c.) 'man-servant, messenger'.

Payādag ō ān ham payādag homānāg pēš-razm.
 "The Pawns to resemble the foot-soldiers, in the front line."

³² The piece in the corner in Chinese chess is called the Chariot. Modern Chinese players sometimes call it the Car.

³³ See the footnote no. 26.

³⁴ NP *piyāde-ye asl* 'the original pawn' (Ar. *bayzaq al-bayzaq*) – two special pawns, one to each side, in Great chess. They are positioned in front of the *farzin*'s Rook (Bland: 12-13).

The name for this piece, which is of the lowest rank, in the European languages derives from the OFr. *Paon*, *Poon*, *Peon* ‘foot-soldier’ > Fr. *Pion*,³⁵ Sp. *Peon*, Engl. *Peon*, *Pawn*, Germ. *Pion* > Pol. *Pionek*, *Pieszek*, Russ. *Пешка* ‘walker’. In Polish chess it was also called *Drab* (16th c.) ‘a mercenary foot-soldier, guard; bounder’ < Czech *Drab* < Germ. *Drabant*, *Trabant* ‘halberdier, guardsman’, while in German its name is now *Bauer* ‘peasant’.

MP	NP	Arabic	Spanish	French	English	German	Polish	Russian
<i>čatrang</i>	<i>šatrang</i> <i>šatranj</i>	<i>šatranj</i>	<i>ajedrez</i>	<i>échecs</i>	<i>chess</i>	<i>Schach</i> (-spiel)	<i>szachy</i>	<i>шах-маты</i>
<i>šāhšāh</i>	<i>šāhšāh</i> <i>begard</i>	<i>šāhšāh</i>	<i>jaque</i>	<i>échec</i> <i>chèque</i>	<i>check</i>	<i>Schach</i>	<i>szach</i>	<i>шах</i>
<i>*šāhmāt</i>	<i>šāhmāt</i>	<i>šāhmāt</i>	<i>jaque</i> <i>y mate</i>	<i>échec</i> <i>et mat</i>	<i>check-mate</i>	<i>Schach-matt</i>	<i>szach i mat</i>	<i>шах и мат</i>
<i>šāh</i>	<i>šāh</i>	<i>šāh</i>	<i>Rey</i>	<i>Roi</i>	<i>King</i>	<i>König</i>	<i>Król</i>	<i>Король</i>
<i>frazēn</i>	<i>farzin</i> <i>wazīr</i> <i>dastur</i>	<i>firzan</i>	<i>Reina</i>	<i>Reine</i>	<i>Queen</i>	<i>Königin</i>	<i>Królowa</i> <i>Hetman</i>	<i>Ферзь</i> <i>Королева</i>
<i>pīl</i>	<i>pīl</i> <i>fil</i>	<i>fil</i>	<i>Alfil</i>	<i>Fou</i>	 <i>Bishop</i>	<i>Läufer</i>	<i>Goniec</i> <i>Läufer</i> <i>Giermek</i> <i>Strzelec</i> <i>Ksiądz</i> <i>Kapłan</i> <i>Mnich</i> <i>Pop</i>	<i>Слон</i> <i>Офицер</i>
<i>asp</i>	<i>asp asb</i>	<i>faras</i> <i>faris</i>	<i>Caballo</i>	<i>Cavalier</i> <i>Chevalier</i>	<i>Knight</i>	 <i>Springer</i>	<i>Koń</i> <i>Rycerz</i> <i>Skoczek</i>	<i>Конь</i>
<i>mādayār</i> <i>rah rox</i>	<i>rox</i>	<i>rux(x)</i>	<i>Roque</i> <i>Torre</i>	<i>Roc</i>	<i>Rook</i> <i>Castle</i> <i>Tower</i>	 <i>Turm</i>	<i>Roch</i> <i>Wieża</i> <i>Słoń</i>	 <i>Тур</i> <i>Ладья</i>
<i>payādag</i>	<i>piyāde</i> , <i>beyzaq</i>	<i>beyzaq</i>	<i>Peón</i>	<i>Pion</i>	<i>Pawn</i>	<i>Bauer</i>	<i>Pionek</i> <i>Pieszek</i> <i>Drab</i>	<i>Пешка</i>

³⁵ Fr. *pion* (13th century): piece du jeu d’échecs, bas. lat. *pedo*, *-ōnis*, devenu synonyme de *pedester*. Cf. Picoche: 515.

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A b b r e v i a t i o n s

Akk. – Akkadian, **Ar.** – Arabic, **Av.** – Avestan, **Celt. Bret.** – Celtic Breton, **Engl.** – English, **Fr.** – French, **Germ.** – German, **PIE** – Proto-Indo-European, **It.** – Italian, **KhS** – Khotan Saka, **Khwar.** – Khwarezmian, **Lat.** – Latin, **MP** – Middle Persian, **NP** – New Persian, **OFr.** – Old French, **OP** – Old Persian, **OPol.** – Old Polish, **Parth.** – Parthian, **Port.** – Portuguese, **Pol.** – Polish, **Russ.** – Russian, **Skt.** – Sanskrit, **Sogd.** – Sogdian, **Sp.** – Spanish, **Tur.** – Turkish.

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PGMC. ⁺*drepa-*, G *treffen* 'TO HIT'

The problem

A strong verb ⁺*drepa-* is well attested in the Germanic languages¹ and therefore is probably of Proto-Germanic origin. The verb belongs to class IV in Old High German (*treffan*, *triffu-triffis(t)-triffit*, *traf*, *trāfum*, (*gi-*)*troffan*).² In Old Norse it belongs to class V (*drepa*, *drep-drepr-drepr*, *drap*, *drópom*, *drepenn*),³ while in Old English it is usually class V (*drepan*, *drepe-drips(t)-dripp*, *dræp*, *dræpon*, *drepen*) but with an additional class IV perfect participle (*dropen*, Beowulf 2981).⁴ In Old Saxon only the infinitive *-drepan* occurs.⁵ The verb has no Indo-European etymology:

treffen *stV*. (< 8. Jh.). Mhd. *treffen*, ahd. *treffan*, as. *-drepan* aus g. **drep-a-* *stV*. 'schlagen', auch in anord. *drepa*, ae. *drepan*. Ohne brauchbare Vergleichsmöglichkeit. Der substantivierte Infinitiv seit dem 15. Jh. in der Bedeutung 'Schlacht'.⁶

[**treffen** *strong verb* (before 8th century). MHG *treffen*, OHG *treffan*, OS *-drepan* from PGmc. **drep-a-* *strong verb* 'schlagen', also in ON *drepa*, OE *drepan*. Without acceptable etymology. The nominalized infinitive meaning 'battle' used since the 15th century.]

¹ Cf. Seebold 1970: s.v. DREP-A- 'schlagen' for the actually attested forms.

² Cf. Braune/Eggers 1975: §§ 341, 323 Anm. 1.

³ Cf. Noreen 1970: § 497. The meaning is there given as 'erschlagen', i.e. 'slay, kill'.

⁴ Cf. Campbell 1959: § 743.

⁵ In *ofardrepan* 'surpass', compare G *übertreffen* (Seebold 1970: s.v. DREP-A-).

⁶ Cf. Kluge/Seebold 1995: s.v. *treffen*. Similarly Seebold 1970: s.v. DREP-A-: "Gm. *drep-a-*, trans. (auch intrans.) 'schlagen' (erschlagen, treffen) hat keine brauchbare Vergleichsmöglichkeit." [Gmc. *drep-a-*, transitive (also intransitive) 'to hit' (to slay, to meet) has no acceptable etymology.]

Since the word contains the labial plosive ^+p , it is a priori unlikely to be of Indo-European origin; this is so because PGmc. ^+p derives, by Grimm's Law, from PIE ^+b , which is generally assumed to have been rare in Proto-Indo-European, or even not to have existed at all.⁷ Therefore $^+drepa-$ is likely to be a loanword from a non-Indo-European language, and indeed a superstratal loan as its original use seems to have been that of a military term.⁸ It has been suggested specifically that the word may be of Semitic origin.⁹

The proposal

In the present paper we would like to take up this suggestion and support it by pointing to an item in a Semitic language, Arabic, that by its form and meaning may well preserve the etymon that was borrowed from a prehistoric relative of Arabic into early Germanic. That item is *ḍrb* 'to hit',¹⁰ which is well attested both in Classical Arabic¹¹ and in Modern Arabic.¹²

The stem formation of Arab. *ḍrb* 'to hit' is illustrated in Versteegh's book *The Arabic language*¹³ where of all the hundreds of Arabic verbal roots the root *ḍrb* 'to hit' happens to be selected to demonstrate the imperfect and perfect paradigms of Classical Arabic. Their vocalization is *ḍarab-* in the perfect, *-ḍrib-* in the imperfect (which often translates into a Germanic present and future tense). This nicely corresponds with the Proto-Germanic present indicative stem $^+drep-$ ($^+drip-$ in raising environments) and the perfect indicative singular stem $^+drap-$, the latter form morphologically adjusted to the Germanic ablaut which is limited to occurring in a single fixed slot within the verbal root. Compare the following Arabic imperfect indicative and perfect forms of the 1st pers. sing., 2nd

⁷ This is the so-called "labial gap", well-known as the starting-point of the "glottalic theory", for which see Salmons 1993.

⁸ Cf. Vennemann 1984: 109.

⁹ Cf. Vennemann 1998: § 3.5.

¹⁰ Arab. *ḍrb* 'to hit' was noticed in this connection by author Robert Mailhammer while writing his master's thesis on Germanic verbal ablaut, and independently by author Stephen Laker in his studies of Germanic and Arabic philology. Author Theo Vennemann suggested jointly to write this etymological note when he realized that not only the sound structure and meaning of the verb *ḍrb* 'to hit' but also its stem formation, to which we will turn directly, recommends it as a source of Gmc. ^+drepan .

¹¹ Cf. Lane 1863: s.v.

¹² Cf. Wehr 1985: s.v. The German equivalent given there is 'schlagen'.

¹³ Cf. Versteegh 1997/2000: 85.

pers. sing. masc. and 3rd pers. sing. masc.¹⁴ to their closest categorial counterparts in Germanic:

		Arabic	Germanic
imperfect indic. / present indic.	1st sing.	<i>'a-ḍrib-u</i>	⁺ (<i>ek</i>) <i>drep-ō</i>
	2nd sing. masc.	<i>ta-ḍrib-u</i>	⁺ (<i>bu</i>) <i>drip-iz</i>
	3rd sing. masc.	<i>ya-ḍrib-u</i>	⁺ (<i>iz</i>) <i>drip-id</i>
perfect / preterit indic.	1st sing.	<i>ḍarab-tu</i>	⁺ <i>drap</i>
	2nd sing. masc.	<i>ḍarab-ta</i>	⁺ <i>draf-t</i>
	3rd sing. masc.	<i>ḍarab-a</i>	⁺ <i>drap</i>

Here the elements *'a-*, *ta-* and *ya-* preceding the verbal root in the Arabic imperfect were prefixes rather than pronouns.¹⁵ However, since Germanic did not have such person-marking prefixes, to speakers of Germanic these elements must have appeared to be equivalent to Germanic personal pronouns. It is therefore understandable that they were omitted from the verbal forms themselves, and the Arabic suffixes replaced by the proper Germanic ones, with the consequence that a uniform apparent present indicative stem *ḍrib-* was identified (⁺*drep-/ḍrip-* after Grimm's Law and with regular ⁺*e/i* alternation), which at the same time set the pattern for the Germanic perfect indicative singular stem (⁺*drap-* after Grimm's Law).

Why only Arabic?

One may ask why the word only occurs in Arabic and not in the other Semitic languages. We would like to venture an hypothesis. Arabic *ḍ*, pronounced either as an emphatic voiced dental plosive or as an emphatic voiced interdental fricative (*ḍ*, conveniently spelled *ẓ*) or, sometimes dialectally, as an unemphatic voiced interdental fricative (*ḍ*), derives from a Proto-Semitic emphatic lateral *ṣ* (in a transcription closer to phonetic practice *ḷ*). This phoneme merged with other sounds in all Semitic languages except Arabic.¹⁶ In particular, it merged with the emphatic voiceless dental fricative *ṣ* in Ethiopic, in East

¹⁴ Arabic has separate forms for the 2nd sing. fem. (imperf. indic. *ta-ḍrib-īna*, perf. *ḍarab-ti*) and 3rd sing. fem. (imperf. indic. *ta-ḍrib-u*, perf. *ḍarab-at*).

¹⁵ Cf. Versteegh 1997/2000: 85: “The prefixes of the imperfect cannot be pronouns, since they co-occur with nominal agents, as in *yaḍribu zaydun* ‘Zaid hits’.”

¹⁶ Cf. Lipiński 1997: § 16.11.

and North Semitic languages, in Phoenician, and in Hebrew.¹⁷ As a consequence, the root *ḏrb* collided with pre-existing roots and fell out of use. E.g., in Hebrew, where it would have become *šrb*, it collided with the root *šrb* ‘to burn’.¹⁸ We believe that the root was only to survive with its original meaning ‘to hit’ where its phonemic identity was preserved, i.e. in Arabic.¹⁹

Concerning the consonantal correspondence between Arab. *-ḏrib-/ḏarab-* and PGmc. *ⁱdrep-/drap-*, it is evident that one has to assume a stage of borrowing early enough for the *ⁱb* of the borrowed item to be reflected as PGmc. *ⁱp*, that is before the completion of Grimm’s Law. As for the initial consonant, it is hard to tell exactly what it was in the donor language at the time of borrowing. While it originally was undoubtedly a voiced sound, the reflex *ṣ* in North Semitic shows that it may already have been in the process of devoicing at the time. Yet the Ugaritic representation as *ṭ* in *yṭḥq* ‘he laughs’, *ṭ’i-* ‘go out!’, and *ymṭ’a* ‘he finds’ proves that PSemit. *ⁱš* and *ⁱs* continued as independent phonemes even in North Semitic.²⁰ Perhaps it is safe to suggest that in the donor language at the time of borrowing it was a media (plosive or fricative, perhaps lateral) with some special glottal activity (“emphaticness”). If one assumes a consonant inventory for Pre-Germanic as traditionally reconstructed, i.e. including a series of mediae with a special phonation type (“mediae aspiratae”, *b^h d^h g^h g^{wh}*, perhaps murmured plosives, *ḅ ḍ ġ ġ̣*), shifting to a series of plain mediae in Proto-Germanic by Grimm’s Law, a substitution of *d^h* or *ḍ* for *d* becomes quite likely. Thus we can sum up our proposal in the following formula:

Prehistoric Northwest Semitic imperf. ind. *ⁱ-ḏrib-*, perf. *ⁱḏarab-*

→ Pre-Germanic pres. ind. *ⁱd^hreb-/ⁱd^hrib-*, perf. ind. sing. *ⁱd^hrab-*
(by sound substitution and ablaut adjustment)

> Proto-Germanic pres. ind. *ⁱdrep-/ⁱdrip-*, pret. ind. sing. *ⁱdrap-*
(by Grimm’s Law)

¹⁷ Cf. Lipiński 1997: § 16.7.

¹⁸ Cf. Gesenius 1915: s.v. *šrb*.

¹⁹ Needless to say not all roots containing PSemit. *ⁱš* were given up in the other languages. An example which is interesting from a Germanic point of view is the root *ⁱrš* ‘earth’ (Arab. *’arḏun*, Hebr. *’eres*), etc., which was borrowed into Germanic as *ⁱerþō* (> OHG *erþa* > G *Erde*, OE *eorðe* > E *earth*, etc.), cf. Levin 1995: 58-65, Vennemann 1995: § 7.9. That PSemit. *ⁱš* is reflected as an aspirated media (> plain media) in *ⁱdrep-* but as an aspirated tenuis (> voiceless fricative) in *ⁱerþō* may have to do with position in the word or with regional or temporal differences of the borrowing processes, or with both. In PGmc. *ⁱapal-* ‘nobility’ (> OHG *adal* > G *Adel*, OE *æþel-*), *ⁱp* is the reflex of PSemit. *ṣ* (cf. Vennemann 2001).

²⁰ Cf. Lipiński 1997: § 16.7.

As in other strong verbs of similar root structure, the perfect/preterite plural stem had to be assigned lengthened grade (OHG *trāfum*, OE *dræpon*, ON *drópom*, etc.), and the perfect participle zero grade or full grade (OHG *-troffan* vs. ON *drepen*, OE *dropen/drepen*), depending on whether the verb was assigned to class IV or class V.

Conclusion: The new relevance of Arabic

In this paper we have proposed a Semitic loan etymology for a Germanic strong verb. This by itself may not be surprising because attempts at explaining etymologically obscure Indo-European words from Semitic have a long tradition. However, reference specifically to Arabic in the present context may seem surprising indeed, namely in view of theories which separate Arabic from those languages for which the assumption of possible influences in the Mediterranean and Atlantic regions is a priori more likely, chief among them Phoenician. But recent research into the grouping of the Semitic languages suggests that Arabic stands especially close to the Northwest Semitic languages, i.e. Aramaic and Canaanite, the latter including Hebrew and Phoenician; cf. the survey in Versteegh 1997/2000: chapter 2.2, “The position of Arabic”. Hetzron (1976) even groups Arabic with Canaanite as Arabo-Canaanite together with Aramaic under a common heading, Central Semitic, thus separating it from South Arabian and Ethiopian, which together form South Semitic²¹:

Central Semitic
 Arabo-Canaanite
 Arabic
 Canaanite
 Aramaic

The following partial classification in Faber’s opening article in the collective work *The Semitic languages* edited by Hetzron²² is inspired by Hetzron but incorporates modifications by Rodgers (1991) and Huehnergard (1992):

Central Semitic
 Arabic
 Northwest Semitic
 Ugaritic
 Canaanite

²¹ Cf. Versteegh 1997/2000: 14.

²² Cf. Faber 1997: 6.

Hebrew
 Phoenician
 Moabite
 Ammonite
 El-Amarna
 Aramaic
 Deir Alla

Lipiński in his chapter “Classification of the Semitic languages”²³ again divides the Semitic language family differently. Beside the usual East Semitic²⁴ he has three separate branches:

North Semitic
 Paleosyrian
 Amorite
 Ugaritic

 West Semitic
 Canaanite
 Old Canaanite
 Hebrew
 Phoenician
 Ammonite
 Moabite
 Edomite
 Aramaic
 Arabic

 South Semitic
 South Arabian
 Ethiopic

Here too Arabic stands close to the languages whose influence on the European West is for known historical reasons the most likely.

We emphasize these Semitological developments classifying Arabic with Central or even Northwest (or simply West) Semitic rather than with South Semitic because it follows from them that Arabic may be more relevant for contact-etymological studies of the West Indo-European languages than has hith-

²³ Cf. Lipiński 1997: 47-85.

²⁴ The East Semitic languages are in all three classifications here considered the Semitic languages of Mesopotamia: Akkadian and Assyro-Babylonian.

to been assumed. In particular, given these new classifications, even a word occurring only in Arabic may in principle be adduced in a contact etymology of a Germanic word, namely within a general theory of prehistoric language contacts between Semitic and West Indo-European languages in the Atlantic region which is necessary on independent grounds. We propose that Arab. *ḍrb* (-*ḍrib-*/*ḍarab-*) 'to hit' may be adduced to explain PGmc. ⁺*drep-/drap-*, G *treffen/traf* 'to hit' in precisely this sense.

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ALBANISCH *kam* 'ICH HABE'¹

Für das dem zentralen und wichtigen Wortschatz angehörende Verbum alban. *kam* 'ich habe'² (supplet. Aorist neualban. *pata*³ usw., Partizip *pasur*⁴) wurden in der etymologischen Forschung bislang mehrere Herleitungen vorgeschlagen.⁵ Am weitaus häufigsten findet sich darunter die Annahme, daß das alban. Lexem mit latein. *capiō* zu verbinden sei und somit von der indogerman. Wurzel **kah₂p-* resp. **kap-* herstamme.⁶ Das ist aber durchaus problematisch im Hinblick auf die Morphologie und auch die Semantik.⁷ So müsste bei einer Verbindung mit der Wurzel **kah₂p-* bzw. **kap-* für das alban. Verbum nämlich ein Wurzelpräsens rekonstruiert werden (etwa ein **kap-mi* usw.), wofür sich jedoch im Vergleich mit dem Material der anderen Sprachen (vgl. die *je*-Präsensbildungen lat. *capiō*, got. *haffjan* und lett. *kāmpju*) kein tatsächlicher Anhaltspunkt ergibt. Abgesehen von dieser vermeintlichen, innerhalb der indogermanischen Sprachen allerdings völlig isolierten, Stammbildung fällt aber besonders

¹ Für eine wertvolle, kritische Diskussion einer früheren Version dieser Arbeit danke ich Dr. Stefan Schumacher (Freiburg/Breisgau).

² Das altalban. Paradigma bei Buzuku 1555: 1.Sg. *kam*, 2.Sg. *kē*, 3.Sg. *kā*, 1.Pl. *kemi*, 2.Pl. *keni*, 3.Pl. *kanë*; siehe die Einträge bei Fiedler 1993, S. 71f.

³ Altalban. (Buzuku 1555) *paçë* usw.; siehe die Einträge bei Fiedler 1993, S. 73 (vgl. auch Demiraj 1986, S. 784).

⁴ Altalban. (Buzuku 1555) *pasunë* (Belege bei Fiedler 1993, S. 74), das letztlich eine Weiterbildung von *pasë* 'Habe, Gut' < **pot-to-* ist (zu *pasë* siehe Holger Pedersen, Die gutturale im Albanesischen, KZ 36, 1900, S. 308; zur Partizipialbildung im Albanischen siehe Klingenschmitt 1981, S. 110f.).

⁵ Siehe dazu die Vermerke bei Demiraj 1997, S. 212, Orel 1998, S. 167f. und Genesin 2000, S. 155.

⁶ Siehe die entsprechenden Einträge in der in Fußnote 5 genannten Literatur. Zur Wurzel **ka(h₂)p-* und ihrer Diskussion siehe außer Pokorny 1959, S. 527 bes. Rix 2001, S. 344f. Eine Abweichende Herleitung bei Camaj 1966, S. 46f., der eine Analyse als **kë-am* (deiktisches *kë* in Verbindung mit den Formen der Kopula) vorschlägt, da er für die Vorgeschichte des Albanischen beim Besitzausdruck eine zugrundeliegende possessive Konstruktion vermutet. Sein Vorschlag vermag aber weder morphologisch, noch semantisch überzeugen.

⁷ Zu Recht skeptisch auch Camaj 1966, S. 46.

ins Gewicht, daß ein Wurzelpräsens einer Wurzel **kah₂p-* bzw. **kap-* ‘fassen, schnappen, ergreifen’ semantisch nur den punktuellen Tatvorgang des Zupackens bzw. Ergreifens bezeichnen kann, jedoch nicht dessen Resultat, das Besitzen der ergriffenen Sache. So zeigen denn auch die belegten Präsensbildungen dieser Wurzel (lat. *capiō* usw.) nur die Bedeutung ‘fassen, nehmen, (hoch)heben’⁸ und sind ungeeignet, auch den durativen Besitzzustand zu bezeichnen.⁹ Es ergeben sich also bei einer Verknüpfung von alban. *kam* mit dieser Wurzel gravierende Probleme, so daß es nötig und gerechtfertigt ist, eine Herleitung zu versuchen, die der Stammbildung und der Semantik gleichermaßen gerecht wird.

Überblickt man in den indogermanischen Sprachen die Bezeichnungen für ‘haben, besitzen’¹⁰, so fällt auf, daß die durative Zustandsbedeutung des “(ständig) Besitzens” entweder¹¹ durch eine besondere, adäquate Stammbildung eines semantisch passenden Verbums erreicht wird (z.B. lat. *habēō*, lit. *turėti*, slaw. *iměti*),¹² oder aber den entsprechenden Verben ein ehemaliges Perfekt zu Grunde liegt, dessen Funktion im Indogermanischen ja die Bezeichnung des erreichten Zustands ist. Zu dem letztgenannten Typ gehören Bildungen wie armen. *ownim* ‘habe’ Umbildung < **(se-)sonh₂-h₂a* ‘habe erlangt’.¹³ (zur Wurzel **senh₂-* ‘erlangen’; heth. *sanh-*, ai. *sanóti* usw.¹⁴) oder got. *aih* ‘habe, besitze’¹⁵ < **(h₂e-)h₂oiġ-* (zu ai. *īse*).

Was nun wiederum das in Diskussion stehende alban. Verbum *kam* betrifft, so scheidet die Möglichkeit, daß dieses mit einer suffixalen Bildung, die die Zustandsbedeutung bezeichnen könnte, gebildet ist, aus lautlichen Gründen schon

⁸ Letztere Bedeutung in got. *haffan*.

⁹ Nicht direkt zu vergleichen sind die germanischen Ableitungen wie got. *haban*, ahd. *habēn* ua., die ja eine besondere Stammbildung aufweisen.

¹⁰ Siehe z.B. auch Antoine Meillet, *Le développement du verbe ‘avoir’*, in: *ANTIDORON, Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres*, Göttingen 1923, S. 9-13.

¹¹ Abgesehen z.B. von der altindogermanischen dativischen Possessivkonstruktion mit der Kopula des Typs lat. *mihi est* (siehe z.B. Bengt Löfstedt, *Zum lateinischen possessiven Dativ*, KZ 78, 1963, S. 64-83 und Anton Scherer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Syntax*, Heidelberg 1975, S. 46; vgl. Camaj 1966 S. 44f.) und anderen, den possessiven Inhalt bezeichnenden Konstruktionen wie z.B. altir. *scél lemm* ‘Ich habe eine Geschichte’ (wörtl. ‘Eine Geschichte (ist) mit/bei mir’).

¹² Ein wenig davon abweichend verhält es sich mit griech. *έχω* < **seġ^h-e/o-* (siehe z.B. Rix 2001, S. 515f.), doch inhäriert der Wurzel **seġ^h-* ‘überwältigen’ bereits ein duratives Moment, das die Entwicklung zu ‘haben’ begünstigen konnte, anders als bei **ka(h₂)p-*, wo der punktuelle Aspekt überwiegt.

¹³ Ausführlich dazu Jochem Schindler, *Armenisch unim, Handes Amsorya (HA)* 90, 1976, S. 339-344.

¹⁴ Siehe zur Wurzel ausführlich Rix 2001, S. 532.

¹⁵ Siehe Rix 2001, S. 223.

aus. So erhebt sich schließlich die Frage, ob nicht auch alban. *kam* letztlich eine alte Perfektbildung fortsetzen könnte, die auf Grund ihrer Bedeutung sekundär zu einem neuen Präsens umgedeutet wurde. Dies lässt sich, wie im folgenden zu zeigen sein wird, bejahen.

Zunächst ist zu beachten, daß der paradigmatisch zugeordnete Aorist von *kam* suppletiv vom Stamm *pat-* < **pot-* (einer Analogiebildung¹⁶) zum Präsens **pot-je/o-* gebildet wird, wozu ai. *pátyate*, lat. *potiō* (bzw. *potior*) u.a. zu vergleichen sind.¹⁷ Die Tatsache aber, daß der Aorist nicht zum selben Stamm gehört, zeigt, daß in der Vorgeschichte des Albanischen bei der Konstituierung des Verbalparadigmas für 'haben' in der präteritalen Zeitstufe eine Lücke vorhanden war. Diese könnte nun dadurch zu erklären sein, daß ein altes Präteritum zum Präsens umgewertet worden ist und im präteritalen Bereich nunmehr eine Leerstelle entstand, die später durch Suppletion gefüllt wurde. Wenn dem so ist, so erhebt sich somit die Frage nach dem etymologischen Hintergrund von alban. *kam* und seiner Stammbildung.

Unter Berücksichtigung der Tatsache, daß das Albanische im Rahmen des sog. balkanindogermanischen Sprachbundes in näherer Beziehung zum Griechischen steht,¹⁸ böte sich als passendes Etymon die idg. Wurzel **kuah₂*- 'erwerben' an (siehe Rix 2001, S. 375¹⁹), die bislang isoliert nur in griech. *πέπᾱμαι* 'besitze'²⁰ nachgewiesen ist.²¹ So könnte also für das Albanische ebenfalls wie bei griech. *πέπᾱμαι* eine alte Perfektbildung angenommen werden, nämlich Sg. *(*kye*)-*kyoh₂*- : Pl. *(*kye*)-*kyə₂*- 'ich habe erworben'²² > 'ich besitze, habe'. Für

¹⁶ Siehe Klingenschmitt 1994, S. 230.

¹⁷ Siehe Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Bd. II, Heidelberg 1996, S. 72; speziell zum Albanischen siehe Demiraj 1997, S. 313, Genesin 2000, S. 155.

¹⁸ Siehe z.B. Gert Klingenschmitt, Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen, in: Jens E. Rasmussen (Hg.), *In honorem Holger Pedersen*, Wiesbaden 1994, S. 244.

¹⁹ Veraltete Zusammenstellung bei Pokorny 1959, S. 593. Bei Rix a.a.O. auch zur Frage, ob vlt. **kuah₂*- als Wurzelansatz vorzunehmen ist. Ist aber alban. *kam* hier anzuschließen, so kann der Wurzelansatz wohl nur mit velarem Tektal vorgenommen werden (siehe zur Thematik allgemein Hermann Ölberg, Idg. *k̂* vor *u* im Albanischen, in: Manfred Mayrhofer (Hg.), *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde. Gedenkschrift für Wilhelm Brandenstein*, Innsbruck 1968, S. 109ff.).

²⁰ Siehe z.B. Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bd. 2, Heidelberg 1970, S. 507.

²¹ Zwar ist – wegen der Seltenheit dieser Lautverbindung – kein zweites Beispiel beizubringen, das die Entwicklung von **ku-* im Albanischen zeigen könnte, doch ist es phonetisch plausibel, die Entwicklung dieser Gruppe mit derjenigen von stimmlosem Labiovelar vor velarem Vokal zu parallelisieren (**k^hV_[+vel]* > alban. *k-*, wie bei kollë 'Husten' < **k^hah₂slah₂*; siehe Demiraj 1997, S. 222).

²² Was die Semantik der Wurzel **kuah₂*- betrifft, so ist angesichts anderer idg. Besitzverben wohl auch hier zu vermuten, daß die Bedeutung 'erwerben' (griech.), 'haben'

eine frühe Vorstufe des Albanischen könnte somit folgendes Perfektparadigma aufgestellt werden²³:

Singular		Plural	
1.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_uoh₂-h₂a</i>	1.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_uə₂-me</i>
2.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_uoh₂-th₂a</i>	2.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_uə₂-te</i>
3.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_uoh₂-e</i>	3.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_uə₂-nti</i> ²⁴

Durch die Wirkung der Lautgesetze, wie z.B. der Kontraktion, musste sich dieses Paradigma folgendermassen weiter verändern:

Singular		Plural	
1.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_uō</i>	1.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_ua-me</i> ²⁵
2.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_uō-ta</i>	2.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_ua-te</i>
3.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_uō</i>	3.	*(<i>k_{ue}</i> -) <i>k_ua-nti</i>

Die Durchführung der Kontraktion ergab eine Homonymie zwischen der ersten und dritten Person des Singulars. Damit ergab sich aber zu jenem Zeitpunkt, als das formale Perfektparadigma von **k_uah₂*- auch semantisch noch als Perfekt gefühlt wurde, eine Diskrepanz zu den anderen Perfektparadigmen der frequenziell häufigeren Wurzeln auf Obstruent, wie z.B. 1.Sg. *(*h₁e*)*h₁orĝ-a* vs. 3.Sg. *(*h₁e*)*h₁orĝ-e* (altalban. 3.Sg. *erdh*²⁶). Es kann angenommen werden, daß die mangelnde Personenkennzeichnung beim Paradigma von **k_uah₂*- als unnatürlich²⁷ empfunden und nicht toleriert wurde, so daß in Analogie zu den anderen Perfektbildungen eine Restituierung der Personalendungen erfolgt sein könnte, daher 1.Sg. *(*k_{ue}*-)*k_uō-a* und 3.Sg. *(*k_{ue}*-)*k_uō-e*.

(alban.) aus einer älteren Bedeutung *‘(durch Ergreifen) in seinen Besitz bringen’ entstanden sein wird.

²³ Unter Verzicht auf den Dual, der als eigene paradigmatische Kategorie im Albanischen nicht fortgeführt ist.

²⁴ Zum Ansatz einer Endung *-*nti* der 3.Pl. im Perfekt des Albanischen siehe im folgenden.

²⁵ Entwicklung von **ə₁₋₃* > alban. *a*; vgl. z.B. alban. *gjatë* ‘lang’ < **dlə₁g^h-to-* (siehe Klingenschmitt 1981, S. 125); siehe auch Demiraj 1997, S. 61.

²⁶ Siehe auch Klingenschmitt 1981, S. 99.

²⁷ Unnatürlich in dem Sinne, daß zwischen dem semantischen Inhalt und seiner formalen Realisierung keine konstruktionselle Ikonizität bestand. Die im folgenden eingetretene Analogie, die diesen Zustand korrigierte ist im Rahmen der natürlichen Morphologie als eine Form des Markiertheitsabbaus zu verstehen (zu Theorie und Terminologie siehe z.B. Wolfgang Ullrich Wurzel, Skizze der natürlichen Morphologie, *Papiere zur Linguistik* 50/1, 1994, S. 23-50).

In der weiteren Entwicklung des Albanischen ergab sich bei der Umformung seines aus dem Indogermanischen ererbten verbalen Systems die Situation, daß das neu konstituierte präteritale Paradigma der albanischen Kategorie des Aorists synkretistisch die ererbten Aoriste und die ererbten Perfekta in sich vereinte.²⁸ Das formale Perfektparadigma von *kam* stand jedoch auf Grund seiner vornehmlich präsentischen Bedeutung zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits dem präteritalen Feld fern und blieb so von der Einordnung unter den neuentstandenen Aorist ausgenommen. Allerdings, für eine noch vorhergehende Stufe in der Vorgeschichte des Albanischen (d.h., als *kam* auch noch präterital aufgefasst werden konnte), ist anzunehmen, daß der Aorist auf das alte Perfekt formal eingewirkt hat. Dies ist ersichtlich an der Umgestaltung der Personalendungen der zweiten und dritten Person Plural des alten Perfekts nach dem Vorbild der Endungen beim Aorist. So wurden die Endungen des Perfekts 2.Pl. **-e* und 3.Pl. **-r(±s)* od. ähnl. ersetzt durch die dem Aoristparadigma zugehörenden Endungen²⁹ **-te* (altalban. *-ëtë*) und **-nti*³⁰ (altalban. *-ënë*). Nimmt man darüberhinaus noch an, daß in den Formen der 1. und 3.Sg. der Langvokal im Hiat vor der Personalendung gekürzt wurde,³¹ so musste sich aus diesem alten Paradigma im

²⁸ Siehe Klingenschmitt 1982, S. 97, Fn. 15 und Klingenschmitt 1994, S. 230ff.

²⁹ Siehe Demiraj 1986, S. 793.

³⁰ Die Endung **-nti* beim Aorist für **-nt* ist analogisch nach dem Präsens; alle Details dazu bei Klingenschmitt 1982, S. 280, Fn. 3.

³¹ Die Annahme einer Kürzung im Hiat scheint zunächst im Widerspruch zur Bewahrung der Länge in Formen wie *neve* 'unser' ([Gen.Pl. zu *nē* 'wir'] gleichsam aus **nō-ōm* < **nōs-ōm* mit hiattilgendem *-v-*; siehe Matzinger 1998, S. 193), bzw. 1.Sg. Konj. altalban. *thoem* (< uralban. **čā(h)ō-mi*; Notation nach Klingenschmitt 1981, S. 113; mit später erfolgter Kontraktion zu neualban. *të thom*) zu stehen, doch ist zu beachten, daß der Hiat in allen diesen Formen erst sekundär, nach Schwund eines Konsonanten entstand (zu einem Erklärungsversuch, wann der Hiat kontrahiert, bzw. durch den *v*-Einschub beseitigt wurde; siehe Klingenschmitt 1981, S. 113). Zudem erscheinen hier z.T. auch paradigmatisch zugeordnete Formen, die die Länge auch außerhalb des Hiats aufweisen (z.B. Nom. *nē* < uralban. **nō(s)*), die für die Bewahrung der Vokallänge auch im Hiat verantwortlich zeichnen können. Anders sind die Verhältnisse bei *kam*, wo der Hiat primärer Natur ist und darüberhinaus in Betracht zu ziehen ist, daß *kam* ein frequentiell häufig gebrauchtes Lexem ist. Dies hätte eine Kürzung in schwachtonigem Gebrauch ohne weiteres begünstigen können. Beides sind nun Faktoren, die die Vokalkürzung in diesem speziellen Fall möglich machen. Prinzipiell einfacher wäre natürlich die Annahme, daß eine Form **(kue)kuoh₂-e* über **(kue)kuo-e* sich zu **(kue)k(y)a-e* > **ka-ë* > *kā* entwickelt hätte. Doch wendet St. Schumacher (briefl. Mitteilung) hier zu Recht ein, daß der Hiat in **(kue)kuo-e* sich kaum eine so lange Zeit im Albanischen (einer Sprache, die gewiss nicht "archaischer" ist als das Indoiranische) gehalten hätte.

Uralbanischen, nach der regulären Aufgabe der Reduplikation,³² folgendes (präsentisches) Paradigma ergeben:

Singular		Plural	
1.	* <i>ko-a</i> > * <i>ka^aa</i> > * <i>kā</i>	1.	* <i>ka-më</i>
2.	* <i>kē-s</i> ³³	2.	* <i>ka-të</i>
3.	* <i>ko-e</i> > * <i>ka^ee</i> ³⁴ > * <i>kā</i> ³⁵	3.	* <i>ka-në</i>

Es ist offensichtlich, daß ein solches Paradigma, das sich nicht in das formale Schema von Präsensbildungen einfügte, nicht ohne weitere Veränderungen hätte fortbestehen können. Tatsächlich ist das Paradigma von *kam*, wie in der Fachliteratur ja schon bemerkt worden ist,³⁶ von dem ihm formal zum Teil nahestehenden Paradigma von *jam* 'ich bin' beeinflusst worden.³⁷ Scharnierform ist hierfür die 3.Person Plural *janë* 'sie sind' (wohl **es-nti* mit analogischer Durchführung der Hochstufe, wie die 1.Pl. *jemi* < **es-m^o*³⁸ nahelegt), die der 3.Person Plural *kanë* 'sie haben' formal besonders nahe steht, ja sogar eine Reimform bildet, ebenso wie auch die 2.Person Singular. Von diesen Ausgangspunkten ergab sich dann die Beeinflussung auch anderer Formen des Paradigmas von *kam*:

³² Vgl. u.a. *desha* 'wollte; liebte' < *(*gē-*)**gōus-* (vgl. *jujōša* zu √*juš-*, siehe Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Bd. I, Heidelberg 1992, S. 599).

³³ Ersatz der zu erwartenden ererbten Perfektendung (uralban. *-*të* < *-*th₂a*) fand auch in der zweiten Person des Singulars statt nach dem Aorist.

³⁴ In der dritten Person Singular **ka^ee* ist entgegen der Evidenz der anderen Perfekt-kontinuanten kein Umlaut zu erwarten (vgl. Aor. *erdh* < *(*h₁e-*)**h₁orġ^h-e*; siehe Klingenschmitt 1981, S. 99), da die Umlautwirkung hier durch die schon zuvor erfolgte Kontraktion des Hiates unterblieben ist. Jedoch ist für die Chronologie zu beachten, daß diese Kontraktion zeitlich nach dem Wandel von idg. **ā* > **ā̊* > alban. *o* erfolgte.

³⁵ Die Form der 3.Sg. weist (altalban., aber auch modern; siehe Gjergj Pekmezi, *Grammatik der albanesischen Sprache*, Wien 1908, S. 71) einen Langvokal auf und zeigt schon von daher, daß ihr eine Kontraktion zu Grunde liegen muss. Ein wichtiger Umstand, der bei der traditionellen Erklärung (d.h. bei der Herleitung als athemat. Wurzelpräsens von **ka(h₂)p-*) nicht ausreichend beachtet wurde.

³⁶ Siehe Demiraj 1997, S. 212, Genesin 2000, S. 155.

³⁷ Siehe dazu z.B. Klingenschmitt 1981, S. 117. Die formale Nähe zu *jam* ist jedenfalls verantwortlich dafür, daß keine Umgestaltung nach geläufigeren Präsensbildungen stattgefunden hat, d.h. 1.Sg. **kā* > *kam* und nicht etwa zu ***kanj* od. ähnl.

³⁸ Siehe zur Endung Klingenschmitt 1994, S. 226.

Singular		Plural	
1.	* <i>kā</i> : * <i>jam</i> → <i>kam</i>	1.	* <i>ka-më</i> : <i>jemi</i> → <i>kemi</i>
2.	* <i>kē</i> : <i>jē</i>	2.	* <i>ka-të</i> : <i>jeni</i> → <i>keni</i>
3.	* <i>kā</i> : <i>āshtë</i> ³⁹	3.	* <i>ka-në</i> : <i>janë</i>

Die analogische Umgestaltung lässt sich im Detail folgendermassen verstehen. Die erste Person Singular **kā* war durch ihre Homonymie mit der dritten Person (**kā*), die paradigmatisch zentral ist, nicht geeignet, fortgesetzt zu werden. Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, daß in dieser Person der Ausgangspunkt der folgenden Umformung zu sehen ist. In der dritten Person Singular indessen waren die beiden Paradigmen formal zu sehr geschieden, als daß es zu einer Beeinflussung hätte kommen können. Die Umformung der Pluralpersonen, von der dritten abgesehen, erfolgte schließlich in proportionaler Analogie:

janë : *jemi*, *jeni* = *kanë* : *X*, *X* → *kemi*, *keni*.

Zusammenfassend hat sich für die etymologische Erklärung von alban. *kam* folgendes ergeben. Die übliche Herleitung aus einem Wurzelpräsens der Wurzel **ka(h₂)p-* unter Vergleich mit lat. *capiō* ua. ist formal und besonders semantisch unzufriedenstellend. Ein Ausweg bietet sich, wenn man *kam* auf ein altes Perfektparadigma der Wurzel **kuah₂-* 'erwerben' zurückführt, wozu griech. *πέπαιμαι* zu vergleichen ist. Wegen seiner besonderen Bedeutung ('habe erworben' > 'habe, besitze') erfuhr das alte Perfektparadigma dieser Wurzel eine Umdeutung zum Präsens, was innerhalb der indogermanischen Sprachen auch sonst zu beobachten ist.⁴⁰ Im Verlauf der weiteren Entwicklung wurde das Paradigma schließlich von *jam* beeinflusst, das mit dem von *kam* formale Ähnlichkeiten aufwies. Nimmt man dies als gegeben, so könnte es durchaus möglich sein, das Paradigma von alban. *kam* bildungsmässig und semantisch befriedigend zu erklären.

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³⁹ Tosk. *është*; zur Vorform siehe Klingenschmitt 1994, S. 226.

⁴⁰ Vgl. etwa die germanischen Präteritopräsentien, deren einer Vertreter got. *wait*, ahd. *weiz* ua. < **uoid-h₂a* 'ich weiß' < *'ich habe wahrgenommen' (wie auch die Parallelen ai. *véda*, griech. *oĩda*, altslaw. *vědě*) bereits grundsprachlich ohne Reduplikation erscheint (zur Wurzel vgl. die Einträge in Rix 2001, S. 665f.).

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KOREAN *il*, TURKIC *iš* – HISTORY IN AN ETYMOLOGY

An etymology is nothing more or less than an attempt to account for the history of a word. But in writing and studying such histories it is easy to forget that these attempts too have their histories, just as do the words that they purport to document. Establishing the history of any word is a complicated and complex undertaking, especially when the languages involved have substantial resources of earlier written records that may be placed under contribution. Often too the number and variety of these records further complicate not only the etymology, *i.e.*, the history of the word under study but the history of that study as well. It is often far from easy to keep these two strands of history separate. Nevertheless, the effort to disentangle them is often of cardinal importance if etymology, and with it historical linguistics, is to achieve credible results.

Anyone who is concerned with etymology, *i.e.*, with questions of historical linguistics, necessarily works from time to time with lists of what have been termed “lexical look-alikes”, in other words, sets or parts of words that, though drawn from different languages, appear on the surface at least to “look alike.” This means in effect that they overtly resemble one another in both sound and sense. Especially when these “look-alike” words are drawn from modern languages, we may well end up confronting only modern forms and modern meanings, in the process unfortunately forgetting that the goal of such comparison is ultimately the recovery of history – to write etymologies, the histories of words. This means that modern forms and their meanings can concern us only in so far as they are able to provide clues as to what happened earlier in their histories. Sometimes, to be sure, as for example in the field of Amerindian, the linguist must work with languages recorded only in their modern forms, because these languages possess no earlier written records of significant time-depth. In such cases the modern forms and meanings of the “look-alikes” can only be taken at face value, and clues for earlier history must be sought elsewhere, as for example in the accumulation of larger constellations of comparisons, either internal or external, involving the languages in question.

But when the languages being studied do indeed have earlier written records that may supply us with evidence concerning details of the forms and their meanings at times in history antedating the modern period, then obviously these are the forms and meanings that must be registered in our “look-alike” lists, and at the same time the only forms and meanings that are fundamentally relevant to the study of historical questions.

All this is plain and clear enough, so much so that no one would probably seriously take issue with any of it, while many may well find its repetition here superfluous. But circumstances sometimes arise in the conduct of historical linguistics that conspire toward overlooking, and indeed at times even denying, these simple principles. In the process they also give rise to considerable unnecessary havoc in this field, already strewn with all too many virtually unavoidable blocks of stumbling. We need not read far in the literature to discover studies in which “look-alike” forms from languages with abundant earlier written records are nevertheless cited only in their modern forms, and the historical evidence of this earlier documentation effectively ignored as a result.

Occasionally this lamentable situation arises from completely benign circumstances. An investigator enters only modern forms and meanings in his or her “look-alike” lists merely because he or she finds it more convenient to deal with modern forms and what are generally their highly abbreviated modern semantic glosses, rather than to burden the record, as it were, with the involved and prolix earlier historical evidence available in early texts. In such cases the investigator apparently assumes that the reader will be able and willing to supply what has been left out, and in effect use the modern forms and their meanings merely to jog the memory into supplying the missing historical data. Benign this may well be; but the question of how well and how often it works as planned must remain open.

At other times the citation of nothing but modern forms and meanings to the total neglect of historical data from earlier periods available from and attested in written records must be admitted to be rather less benign. This is particularly the case when it has as its aim the refutation of linguistic comparisons earlier attempted by others, and the disparagement of work that earlier took cognizance of specific features of form and meaning evident in earlier written records but now not to be observed in the purely modern forms. In this particularly invidious variety of historical-linguistic dialectic, modern forms or meanings, or both, are aligned in such a way as allegedly to demonstrate that words which someone else has compared cannot possibly be related to each other. The hope is that the reader will be seductively propelled toward the conclusion that

the comparison itself, as well as any further historical implications that may have been based upon it or in which it plays a part, are nonsense.

An instructive case-in-point is provided by several etymological comments in Martin (1996.83 note 34), where he comments upon problems that he professes to identify in earlier comparisons by others that brought together, among other words, the Turkic and Korean forms alluded to *supra* in our title, *i.e.*, Trk. *iš* ‘work’, and Kor. *il* ‘work’, together with other forms in several languages.

Martin begins by denying outright that NK *il*, MK *:il* mean or ever have meant ‘work, business’, and goes on to allege that to cite the forms with these or similar glosses “ignores the fact that the basic meaning of the Korean noun ... is the less specific ‘event, happening’ – equivalent to J[apanese] *koto* ... and like *koto* found ... in expressions meaning ‘has the experience of its happening’ > ‘sometimes, ever; never’.” For the modern language this allegation is readily refuted by consulting Martin’s own *Korean-English Dictionary* (1967), p. 1348b, where the first two definitions for NK *il* are “1. a job, a piece of work, ... 2. employment, occupation, vocation, business, job”. But even more striking is the evidence available from Middle Korean texts, particularly relevant here since Martin frames his argument specifically with reference, not to NK *il*, but instead to MK *:il*.

One need not read very far in the Middle Korean texts to discover what MK *:il* means. The form occurs in the second strophe of the first canto of the *Yongpi ōč’onka*. This bilingual Korean-Chinese dynastic panegyric of 1445, extolling the virtues and achievements of the royal Yi dynastic line, was the first connected text to be composed and completed in the then-new *hPhags-pa*-based Korean script officially promulgated in 1446 (the text itself was first printed in 1447). In its *incipit* we find MK *:il* in a totally unambiguous context where it can only mean ‘(all the) works, deeds, achievements (of the Yi dynasty)’ (tsl. J. Hoyt [1971.43]; P. Lee [1975.151]; text ed. Tajcōj-kak, Seoul [1976], p. 207).

Martin alleges that some have “ignored the fact [of] the basic meaning of the Korean noun”. But from the evidence of this text it would appear that the mid-15th century Korean scholars who composed the panegyric also were guilty of ignoring the same “fact”, since they too understood the form to mean ‘work, deeds, achievements’. And this is to leave aside the question of what Martin’s magisterial invocation of the term (and concept?) “basic meaning” in respect to this or any other form in any language may or may not imply. At any rate, his “basic meaning” here clearly has nothing to do with historical fact as documented in this text, one that is not only early but indeed the earliest that we have for Middle Korean.

Further evidence for the sense of MK *:il*, and further refutation of Martin’s “basic meaning”, is amply available in the extensive Middle Korean Buddhist texts and sources. There the form canonically glosses Chin. 業 *yèh* ‘works,

deeds, accomplishments’, which in turn in Buddhist contexts is routinely to be understood as Skt. *karma* (e.g., in the Preface to the *Wöl’in sŏkpo* of 1459, orig. p. 3a = p. 61, Sogang Univ. facs. ed. [1972]). And not irrelevant to this employment is the fact that this same Chin. *yèh*, the canonical Chinese translation of *karma*, itself is understood in non-Buddhist contexts as having reference to the ‘(great) work, (vital) undertaking, (mighty) deed(s)’ of a dynastic succession, cf. the Sui dynasty reign-title *Tà yèh* for the period A.D. 605-617. Again, the monks and scholars responsible for the Middle Korean Buddhist texts seem to have been unaware of Martin’s “basic meaning” of MK *:il*.

Further light is cast upon significantly early Korean understanding of the sense of this word by two *lemmata* in the *Hungmong čahui*, the Chinese-Middle Korean bilingual lexicon of 1527. This important lexical source registers MK *:il* as the translation for two different Chinese words, Chin. 事 *shih*, and Chin. *yèh* (Tankuk Univ. facs. ed. [1971], p. 124 = p. 13 *verso* in the Hieizan copy; p. 351 = p. 31 *recto* in the Tokyo Univ. copy). The sense of Chin. *shih*, the first of these two glosses, is ‘thing, matter, affair, fact’ (the third meaning in the Martin dictionary entry cited *supra*, and his “less specific ‘event, happening’”; *shih* also routinely is glossed by NJ *koto*). In the second of the two, the form that translates Chin. *yèh* is the noun+verb collocation MK *:il hǎ-* ‘to do, perform work’. (The Hieizan copy has *il*, but this seems to be no more than a printing-error since the generally less-correct Tokyo Univ. copy here has the expected *:il*.) In other words, what we have to reckon with here are two glosses directly tied to specific Chinese texts and how they were understood in Middle Korean. We ought not to forget that this bilingual lexicon was written with the express purpose of providing reliable information, by means of Middle Korean glosses, about the significance and grammatical function of Chinese lexical items; in this sense, the text is primarily a guide to Chinese, and only secondarily a source for Korean.

Keeping this in mind, we can now easily understand that the MK *:il hǎ-* gloss for *yèh* was intended to be a key to understanding certain passages in which the reader would encounter a fairly rare verbal use of Chin. *yèh* ‘to make, (partially) complete (something)’, e.g., in *Mencius* 7 B 30 (Legge, “[a sandal] in the process of making”; Couvreur, “nondum perfectus [calceus]”), in contrast to the routine employment of Chin. *yèh* as a noun in the bulk of the texts. (On the noun/verb distinction in the syntactic employment of Chin. *yèh* and the Korean glossing-conventions that recognize it, together with citations of relevant Chinese texts, Yi Kawŏn *et al.*, eds., *Taj čawŏn* [1972], p. 775b, is particularly useful; their classical citation for the nominal *yèh*, among the thousands that might be cited, is interestingly enough an *Yi ching* ‘Appendix’ [A, 3] passage, cited and discussed in Hirakoba [1993.530-31].)

Subsequently this noun+verb collocation appears to have found relatively little employment in the language. The one early passage that the lexical sources routinely cite is drawn from the 1481 Middle Korean rendering of Tu Fu's poem "The Parting of a Newly Wedded Couple". There interestingly enough it glosses Chin. *shih* used as a verb, 'do your (best) service, devote yourself (entirely)' (*chüan* 3, Poem 12, line 22 in the Harvard-Yenching *Index* text; tsl. von Zach (V 9), 193: "trachte vielmehr Dein Bestes [in der Armee zu leisten]"; W. Hung, *China's Greatest Poet* [1969] (CXXI): "... give yourself to the duties of war"). But the collocation *il hǎ-*, though not richly attested, is by no means a *hapax*. It survived to be employed as a gloss for Ma. *weile-* 'work, make, serve' (of which more *infra*) in the Manchu-Korean bilingual glossary of 1748 (*Tongmun yuhaj* A 30b, ed. Taegu [1982], p. 47b). With the historically attested sense of NK *il*, MK *:il* 'work, business' thus clarified, and with the chimera of a "less specific basic meaning" for this form laid to rest, we are in a position to address the second problem raised in Martin, *loc. cit.*

This involves the history of the introduction of this putative peninsular cognate into a Turkic-Mongolian-Tungus etymology long familiar in the Altaic historical-linguistic literature, viz., Trk. *iš* 'work, action, business, occupation', WMo. *uile* 'work, industry, manufacturing, production', Ma. *weile* 'work, deed', *weilen* 'work, construction' (for other forms in related languages and further literature, see *inter alia* Sevortjan [1974.395-96]). Martin alleges that the introduction of the Korean forms being discussed here into this etymology "was first made by Polivanov 1927". This statement is not correct. Furthermore, it obscures not only the Korean component of this Altaic construct but the history of the entire etymology as well, and as a consequence also its utility for comparative-linguistic purposes. Hence it must be corrected.

The etymological confrontation of NK *il*, MK *:il* is significantly earlier than Polivanov (1927). Like so much else in the history of Altaic lexical comparison it must be traced to the work of the pioneer Japanese scholar Shiratori Kurakichi (1865-1942) and his publication of a series of seven articles on the relationship of Korean to "Ural-Altaic" in the *Tōyō Gakuhō* between June, 1914 and October, 1916 (available in and cited here from the convenient reprint with index in the *Shiratori Kurakichi zenshū*, vol. 3, ed. Kanda Nobuo [1970]). In that extensive work Shiratori brought together a large selection of Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus forms as possible Altaic cognates for NK *il* and what appeared to him to be other related New Korean lexical items in Part 39 of his study (*Tōyō Gakuhō* 4:2 [June, 1914]; rpt. p. 33), thus in effect first establishing the etymology in question. The notable omission in his etymological construct is that of any Turkic evidence. This was because, in common with all his work, Shiratori here also was not yet aware of the significance of what we now generally recognize as the $*l_2$, $*r_2$ correlations in the history of the Altaic languages;

accordingly he was unable to accommodate the Turkic evidence with its *-š* into his etymological assemblage. In the years following the publication of his study, Shiratori's etymological compilations have frequently been laid under contribution, but seldom cited; nevertheless, his work underlies much of what we find even today in our etymological sources for the study of Altaic historical linguistics.¹

In this particular case, next on the etymological scene was, to be sure, Polivanov (1927). But *pace* Martin's claim, Polivanov did not "first make the Korean comparison" with which we are concerned. Quite to the contrary, he actually rejected it, overtly denying that NK *il* was etymologically related to Turkic *iš* along with the Mongol and Manchu-Tungus forms first cited by Shiratori (whom he did not, however, cite). This he did on the grounds that the final consonant of a Chuvash cognate made it impossible to accommodate a Korean form with *-l* into the etymology ("Kor. *il* ... sjudā ne podxodit, vvidu čuv. *əš*", p. 162, rpt. Moscow [1968]). A year before Polivanov's publication, N. N. Poppe had also concerned himself with Chu. *-š* and the problem of its relationship (or, non-relationship?) to Trk. *-š* and Mo., Tg. *-l* in these and other words (1926. 116). He was to return to the same question almost half-a-century later with a somewhat more sophisticated solution (1974.139-40). But nowhere in his work did Poppe ever sanction the incorporation of Korean forms into this etymology. It remained for G. J. Ramstedt (1957, EAS 1.109) to assemble the entire Korean-Turkic-Mongol-Manchu etymology for the first time, thus bringing to fruition the etymological search that had been begun by Shiratori in 1914. Earlier, in SKE II (1953), P. Aalto had printed what appears to be a fragment of this same etymology that apparently he had discovered among Ramstedt's papers. This fragment was apparently the basis for the EAS etymology that, like much of that volume, was edited and rewritten by Aalto after Ramstedt's death.² This leaves open the question of whether the incorporation of the Korean lexical evidence into this etymology was the work of Ramstedt or of Aalto, and also the problem of how much, if anything, either of them knew of Polivanov's work; at any rate, they pass in silence over the problem of the Chu. *-š*. But at least one

¹ That Ramstedt was familiar with and indeed drew extensively upon Shiratori's study has long been obvious; the same is true of the work of more than one modern Korean scholar (see Miller [1984.148-49]; [1997/98.148]). Ramstedt was personally acquainted with Shiratori whom he met while serving in Tokyo as the Finnish chargé (21 III 1920 – 24 III 1923; 20 I 1924 – 15 XI 1929), and records have now been discovered showing that the two engaged in scholarly discussions (Halén 1998.217). This evidence further clarifies the circumstances of Ramstedt's access to the Shiratori study.

² Aalto's gleaning of the Ramstedt *Nachlässe* with few exceptions left almost nothing of value behind; typically, in connection with NK *il*, Kho (1982.57) found only a trivial fragment hardly worth publishing.

thing is clear. Polivanov was not, as Martin alleges, the first to introduce Korean forms to this etymology.

The subsequent literature involving these forms has been neither particularly informative nor especially edifying. Shibata Takeshi (1955.631) brought together the Korean, Turkic, Mongol and Manchu cognates (but ignored the problem of Chuvash); he does not cite Polivanov (1927), but there is internal evidence elsewhere in his contribution that he was familiar with several of its etymologies.³ Tekin (1969.280) ignores the Korean evidence, and attempts to account for the Chuvash form by labelling it a borrowing. Nauta (1985.129) follows the same direction of argument, further complicating matters by miswriting “Chu. *iš*” throughout. Kim Bang-han (1983.25, 159) is exceptional in including the Korean form into the received Altaic etymology; he writes “MK *īr* = Yak., Uzb. *iš*, pA **īl₂*”, and in support of this etymology he cites “Polivanov 1967:179”. But like Martin, he appears not to have noticed that Polivanov to the contrary actually denied the membership of Korean in this historical assemblage.

Further consideration is also due the earlier attested meaning(s) of the Turkic forms routinely cited in this now-received etymology, particularly those that may be documented from Old Turkic text-materials. Not surprisingly, and almost exactly in parallel with what we have discovered about the Middle Korean citations of the form at issue, these too upon closer inspection have much to teach us about what this etymon actually signified in the earliest contexts that may be cited, as opposed to glosses (or as Martin would have it, “basic meanings”) that we may recover from solely modern lexical sources.

It is our good fortune that a fair number of citations of what must have been the Old Turkic prototype of Trk. *iš* are at hand in three Orkhon runic inscriptions, as well as in the early Uighur runic inscription from Lake Šine-usu

³ This internal evidence, *inter alia*, is most striking in Shibata’s uncredited reproduction of Polivanov’s etymological *léger de main*-comparison of Trk. *küz* ‘autumn’ with NK *kyō’ul* ‘winter’, and Trk. *qış* ‘winter’ with NK *ka’ül* ‘autumn’. Polivanov proposed this etymological chiasmus because he believed that it was justified by “the vowels of the given Korean words”, and further elaborated upon its implications in a long note (1927.162-63 note 14). He did not have the Middle Korean forms for these two words available, *viz.* MK *kyō-zū* [in the 1527 Chinese-Middle Korean bilingual, A 1 r, ed. pp. 27, 152] ~ *kyō-zūl.h-* [in early texts generally] ‘winter’, and MK *kāzāl.h-* ‘autumn’; these forms show that Polivanov oversimplified the phonological data and that the problem of these words remains to be clarified. Unfortunately that clarification has now been further delayed. Robbeets (2000.120, 122) cites Polivanov on these two words, but twice accuses him of “mistakes” in his Turkic lexical data, apparently believing that his involved and elaborately explained chiasmic etymology is no more than a mere printing error. Shibata must have read Polivanov but does not cite him; Robbeets cites Polivanov but appears not to have read him.

on the Selenga River (Ramstedt 1913; Thomsen 1924/25; Malov 1951, 1959; Tekin 1968; Ajdarov 1971). (Tekin [1969:336b] has a convenient index, almost complete, of the relevant passages in the Orkhon texts.) In these inscriptions the word *iš*⁴ always appears as the prior element in the hendiadys OT *iš kүүč* (thus, in the Kül Tegin inscription, East 8, 9, 10, West 1; in the Tonyukuk inscription, 52; in the Ongin inscription Right 28, Front 5; and in the Šine-usu inscription 17). The sole exception appears to be a single passage in the Ongin inscription (Front 6), where *iš* appears not as elsewhere in this hendiadys but instead in isolation.

The various decipherers and translators of these inscriptions have by and large rendered this hendiadys literally, *i.e.*, morpheme-by-morpheme. This treatment began with Ramstedt, who understood the collocation as “hilfe und stärke” (1913.20-21); this was followed by Thomsen, “Arbeit und Kraft” (1924/25.168-69), but also on occasion ‘dienen’ (1924/25.146). Malov (1951.37, 69 and *passim*) and Ajdarov (1971.291-92, 333 and *passim*) have generally “trudy i sily”, but also “otdavat”, and along with DTS, in line 17 of the Šine-usu inscription, two imperatives, “služi (mne) i rabotaj!” (Malov 1959.40; Ajdarov 1971.346). Otherwise DTS 214 contents itself with glossing this hendiadys as “trudy i sily”. Clauson (1957.188) first ventured a departure from this translation-tradition, rendering both the hendiadys in line 5 and the isolated *iš* in line 6 of the Ongin inscription as “(give) his/your services”, and following his lead, Tekin (1968.255, 264-65, 289, and *passim*) uniformly has “service(s)”.

It need hardly be emphasized that the importance of any Old Turkic hendiadys lies not in the literal lexical meaning(s) of its constituent elements but rather in the contextual sense of the collocation as a whole. In the case of OT *iš kүүč*, we find this hendiadys figuring in contexts involving the rendering up or supplying of supportive help and services to superiors, typically to *kayans* and/or other overlords. This also appears to be the contextual sense of that one passage in the Orkhon inscriptions in which the single morpheme *iš* appears to substitute satisfactorily for the larger *iš kүүč* hendiadys, *i.e.*, Ongin inscription Front line 6, “... Tängrikän became gracious, saying that ‘You have given your services to me ...’” (Tekin 1968.255, 291); or, “you have given your services to His Sacred Majesty” (Clauson, *loc. cit.*). Most of the translations of this hendiadys in the literature, summed up immediately *supra*, pay but scant attention to this problem of contextual significance. Clauson’s rendering “service(s)”, adopted in turn by Tekin, is a notable exception to the generally uniform “Ar-

⁴ The Orkhon runic writings *is* ~ *iš* have been normalized to uniform *iš* following the historical scenario postulated by Malov (1951) and summed up by Tekin (1968.93-95); also relevant here is the important study of Stachowski (1998.394). Similarly normalized is the vowel, here written short even though etymologically long.

beit und Kraft,” “trudy i sily” renderings, but neither translator discussed the issue.

Characteristically, Ramstedt has thus far been the only one to raise this question, and to attempt to advance our understanding of the semantic dimensions of this hendiadys beyond the simple morpheme-by-morpheme glossing of its constituent parts. In the commentary to his initial publication of the Šine-usu inscription (1913.51) he noted perceptively that the hendiadys in question survives in Yakut, citing *iäs kūs biär-* ‘jemandem helfen (und geld leihen)’ from the Pekarskij dictionary, and suggested that in this particular collocation Trk. *iš* was to be understood as ‘beistand, kamerad, teilnehmer’.⁵ (His further citation, *loc. cit.*, of a Kalmuk collocation equivalent to WMo. *dem küčü* ‘[lit.] aid; strength’, which he glosses as “etwa ‘unterstützen’ od. ‘sich ganz zur verfügung stellen’,” together with his overt equation “[OT] *iš* = ... kalm. *dem* [= WMo. id., ‘aid, help’]” is also obviously important, but raises additional questions involving Mongol that cannot be addressed here.)

At any rate, Ramstedt’s pioneering attempt to study the contextual significance of this OT hendiadys was a step in the right direction. As too often with similarly perceptive insights by scholarly pioneers, those coming after have been reluctant to follow it up; but now further study by Turkologists of the sense of this hendiadys is surely indicated.

In particular, it will be necessary in the course of such study to clarify precisely how OT *iš küč* fits into the systematic classification of the Old Turkic hendiadys phenomenon set forth in broad outline by Pritsak (1963.50). The

⁵ OT *küč* also requires further etymological study before its role in this hendiadys may be correctly assessed. Kolesnikova (1979) has made a beginning in this direction, but *pace* her contribution the TMS 1.438b-39b remains the best guide to studying the problems of this term. J. É. Kowalewski, *Dict.*, 2613 (1849), first cited Ma. *hūsun* ‘strength, power; worker’ together with WMo. *küči* ‘hired workman, day-laborer’ (his Tib. *gla-ba* is a misprint for *gla-pa* ‘id.’); could this have been the source of Ramstedt’s ‘kamerad’ gloss? Poppe (VGAS 63, 112, 135) reconstructed **kūči(n)* to account for obvious cognates in Mongol and Turkic, but never admitted the Tungus forms in *-s-* into his etymology; despite Benzing (1955.983) he continued to regard the Manchu-Tungus correspondences of Altaic **-č-* in such forms as unclear (VGAS 62). In addition to addressing this still unsolved problem, the TMS data as well as Kolesnikova’s summation of the materials show that there is probably more to the semantic dimension of this etymology than the simple ‘Kraft, Macht’ or ‘sila’ of the lexical sources; numerous Tungus ‘look-alikes’, which may indeed be cognates, are registered as meaning ‘labor, work; worker; conflict, fight; battle’, etc. Perhaps the two members of this hendiadys were not ‘trudy i sily’, as usually understood in the Russian sources, but simply and emphatically ‘trud’, in a sociolinguistic complex implying ‘service, duty, obligations due a superior’? At any rate, and for the moment, the sense of OT *küč* in this collocation is too little understood to permit a satisfactory translation of the whole.

obvious category for this hendiadys among the three described by Pritsak would be his “inverse alliteration” type, in which a vowel-initial morpheme in first-position is found together with a consonant-initial morpheme in second-position in the hendiadys. But this does not necessarily rule out the first of his three categories, that in which a loan-morpheme in first-position is glossed by a Turkic form in second-position, *i.e.*, the familiar macaronic hendiadys pattern that later becomes commonplace in the Buddhist texts. Does the use of *iš* in the hendiadys *iš kũč* hint at a foreign origin for its prior morpheme? Does the variation between *s* and *š* in the runic orthography of this form (see note 4 *supra*) point in the same direction? These questions can hardly be resolved here, but merit further attention.

In the meantime, the striking semantic congruence of OT *iš* in the hendiadys *iš kũč*, and indeed that of the morpheme OT *iš* in isolation, as in the critical passage in the Ongin inscription, with MK *:il* as we have documented it, *e.g.*, in the *incipit* of the 1445 Middle Korean panegyric to the heroic figures of the Yi dynastic line, is difficult not to remark upon. Despite their wide separation in time and space, both these two early sources, the Old Turkic on the one hand and the Middle Korean on the other, document later but relatively minor semantic developments of what originally can only have been a single earlier term for a particular, highly specialized variety of ‘work’ – ‘work’ that consisted of rendering allegiance and faithfulness as a duty, as well as of offering up service in the form of constancy and loyalty to superiors within the societies concerned.

With these precious Old Turkic and Middle Korean lexical materials in hand, we are finally in a position to rescue this important Altaic etymology from the obfuscation of Martin (1996). But even this semantic house-cleaning, important though it be, nevertheless leaves a number of other smaller points still in need of clarification. As we have seen, Martin’s having passed in silence over Polivanov’s *expressis verbis* rejection of an etymological connection between MK *:il* and Trk. *iš* is surprising enough. But stranger still, particularly in view of this silence, is the careful attention he then goes on to devote to Polivanov’s note 13 on the same page of his 1927 paper. Having ignored the content of the text, Martin proceeds to a careful resume and enthusiastic approval of the short note appended to it.

In this note, Polivanov ventured a suggestion to the effect that “it is possible that we have a grammaticalization of this same stem (*iš* ‘affair’) in the Uzbek ... deverbal *nomina actionis* formations in ... -š ...” Martin claims to find this “more attractive” (more than what is not clear), and goes on himself to speculate “whether the derivation could have arisen the other way around (as in Korean), with the Turkic noun coming from a direct nominalization of a lost verb stem ...” (1996.84).

The *non sequitur* circularity of this encomium hardly need be remarked upon in detail. But even before Martin, the casual and fairly vague speculation of Polivanov's note had apparently made an impression on more than one earlier reader as well – a deeper impression, apparently, than did the disavowal in his text of an etymological connection between MK *:il* and Trk. *iš*. Furthermore, Polivanov's suggestion, which in its original form limited itself to the formation of an Uzbek deverbal noun, almost immediately became conflated in the subsequent literature, as Martin has again confounded it, with a quite different question, important to be sure but actually not even hinted upon in Polivanov's note. This other question is that of the history of the Turkic deverbal adnominal, or perfect participle, suffix *-mİš*; the result was that the apparent (but not the real) problem of this etymology became focused upon explaining the origin of the *-m-* in *-mİš*. This of course was also no more than the result of the mistaken understanding that since Polivanov's comparison of *iš* with NK *il* had taken care of that much of the suffix, "only the *-m-* remains unexplained." Thus already in Ramstedt / Aalto EAS 2 (1952.106) we find the Polivanov note repeated but also recast to account for the Turkic adnominal suffix, with a fuller statement to the same effect in Aalto SKE II (1953.57): "... the Turkic perfect participle in *-mİš* is a compound of the verbal noun in *-m* and of this *iš* < **il'*, cf. kor. *pom-il*, 'a thing which is to be seen' ...". Next, building directly upon these sources, Räsänen (1957.137) directly confronted the *-iš* of Trk. *-mİš* with "kor. *il* 'Sache, Ding'."

Unfortunately, the Korean data cited by Ramstedt / Aalto and repeated by Räsänen do not support this etymological suggestion; in particular the Korean collocation *pom-il* cited as a putative model for the postulated formation (EAS 2, *loc. cit.*, has 'die Sache, die man nachgesehen od. nachzusehen hat') cannot be cited. Early texts from 1459 on have MK *:po.m*, a deverbal abstract noun from MK *:po-* 'to see'; but the sequence *pom-il*, or *pom il*, of the Ramstedt / Aalto notices is there unknown. Even more significantly, when modern lexical sources set about to gloss MK *:po.m*, they explain it as NK *po.nŭn il* (thus, Nam 696b), with the deverbal adnominal *.nŭn*. Of course Ramstedt / Aalto were only suggesting a possible model in the Korean formation they cited for their postulated pre-Turkic, and presumably also Proto-Altaic, formation. The lack of such a formation in our Korean sources, whether early or late, of course does not rule out such speculation out of court. But by the same token, it certainly does not strengthen it. At the very least, it must be kept in mind in studying the literature concerning this long-standing problem in Turkic historical morphology that the apparently neat Korean parallel cited by Ramstedt / Aalto seems never to have existed, nor does it exist today.

To this genial confusion Martin then adds yet another dimension with his closing speculation that "[t]he unexpected labial glide that is initial in Mongo-

lian *uile* and Manchu *weile* ‘work; affair; crime’ ... is perhaps relevant”. In other words, at this point Martin admits that he has accepted the entire Altaic etymology after all, including the Korean member that Polivanov rejected, and this on the grounds that the initials of the Mongol and Manchu forms originally cited by Shiratori may help “explain” the *-m-* in Trk. *-mlš*, despite the fact that in his note 13 Polivanov was not in the least concerned with the etymology or origin of this Turkic deverbal adnominal *-mlš*, but solely with an Uzbek deverbal noun suffix *-lš*. Then, in an effort to tidy up the loose ends of his argument, Martin finally adds a parting shot that shows us the direction in which all his comments are aimed. Polivanov’s note, he suggests, “is perhaps relevant – and points us away from the Korean connection” – which, after all, is what Martin has been aiming at all the time, *i.e.*, rejection of a genetic link between Korean and Altaic. But to make this point, how much simpler it would have been merely to read Polivanov (1927) carefully in the first place, since for NK *il* at least that was Polivanov’s argument as well.

It is discouraging to find that this same decades-old unproductive confusion of fact-and-fancy continues to obscure the history of this tiny corner of Turkic (and Altaic) morphology. Following close upon the heels of Martin (1996), Helimski (1998) has recently added yet another dimension of misunderstanding to the citation of Korean materials in this connection, a lapsus that also urgently calls for clarification since, like Martin (1996), it too has the potential, unless corrected, of short-circuiting yet another decade of scholarship in these matters.

Helimski claims (1998.392) that we have been remiss in earlier discussions of the question of the documentary evidence for the Old Korean reflexes of the four original Altaic liquids (**l*, **l₂*, **r*, **r₂*) in not mentioning “another crucially important fact ...: the phonogram *shih* renders in OK also the imperfect adnominal verb (*alias* verbal noun, *alias* future participle) suffix (MK, NK *-l*)”. This allegation of carelessness, together with the Old Korean forms critical to his argument, he then purports to document by a citation (his note 7) of a German translation (Lewin 1977) of Yi Ki-mun (1972). In that translation, to be sure, we find an Old Korean text fragment transcribed as OK *nyäur kir* ‘the road one goes on, travels’ (Lewin 1977.85). But in Yi’s original text (1972.75) we discover that the fragment’s “render[ing here] of the OK ... imperfect adnominal verb,” upon which Helimski puts so much store, is no more than a chimera of transcription. The *-r* in its *nyäur* seems to be documented here only so long as we do not look beyond the traditional Korean school-reading of the Chin. 尸 *shih* phonogram as *l / r*. Yi and his translator(s) have not done that, and neither has Helimski. The Old Korean text at issue, Poem 1, line 7 in the Yang Cu-tong

(1974) edition, here does not have *l* / *r* except in the modern Korean school-tradition; the text has the phonogram *shih*.⁶

Just two short paragraphs earlier, on this same p. 392, Helimski had agreed with us that this reading-tradition for the phonogram *shih* is philologically unsound and unconvincing, and surely to be rejected. Why then does he reverse himself some 30 lines later? The *-r* on the putative OK *nyäur* which he cites in refutation is not an attested form that documents anything about the history of Korean; it is no more than an artifact of the German translation of Yi's book. In the Old Korean text itself, this form is written 行乎尸. (This much of the text is also printed in the 1977 translation that Helimski consulted, so there is even less excuse for his having overlooked it.) Understanding the first graph, Chin. *hsing* 'to go' as a semantogram and accordingly equating it with MK *nyō-* 'go' (thus in Yang Cu-tong [1974.172], so also in both the original and translation of Yi) seems acceptable.⁷ As with all semantograms in these texts, we do not really know what Old Korean word or morpheme was being written. But the assumption that whatever it was, it was not unrelated to the Middle Korean form cited seems reasonable, particularly in the light of closely parallel collocations in relatively early Middle Korean texts. The *Wöl'in sōkpo*, 21.119 (cited Nam 287b; facs. ed. not available) of 1459 has *kil nyōlq salām* 'a person who travels a road'. From *ca.* 1481 on and in the bulk of the later Middle Korean texts this cliché appears as *kil nyōl salām*. But in the earlier texts this verbal suffix is routinely written in the *hPhags-pa*-based Middle Korean orthography with a unique digraph that combines the script's liquid-consonant symbol (our *l*; the *r*

⁶ Yu Chang-kyun (1994) has a variorum-conspectus of the ten major editions and readings of the Old Korean poem-corpus published between 1929 and 1981; his publication is particularly notable for taking notice of Ogura (1929) who, even though responsible for the bulk of the decipherment of these texts and still by-and-large the most reliable guide to their language, is mostly passed over in silence by modern Korean scholarship (notably, *e.g.*, by Yang Cu-tong [1974]). Yu inventories all passages in the corpus that involve the phonogram *shih* on pp. 159-60, as part of his general study of the problem of this orthographic feature (pp. 154-64, his § 1.2.2.[3.]). His summation, which proposes a three-step historical scenario that would accommodate both [l] and [s] phonetic values, is irenic but unsupported by evidence and hence unconvincing. Sasse (1989.146 and *passim*) simply follows the Korean school-reading tradition with respect to the phonogram *shih*, and writes *-l* throughout for what he terms this "Endung des Verbalnomens mit futurischem Aspekt". Significantly, he frequently adds in his notes that this *pseudo*-Old Korean *-l* written with the phonogram *shih* corresponds to "MKor.: *-l'*", *i.e.*, to our *-lq* (see note 8 *infra*). But he does not attempt to explain this orthographic feature, or to relate it to the Old Korean employment of the phonogram *shih*.

⁷ This reading-convention ultimately reverts to Ogura (1929.149-55). In the "OK *nyäur*" of the Lewin translation the *ä* corresponds to the conventional (and our) *-ō-*; the phonogram-writing *-u-* is, again following Ogura, understood as an honorific, or deferential, secondary verb-stem derivational suffix.

of Helimski's German source) together with its symbol for a voiceless glottal plosive (our *q*).⁸

It scarcely need be pointed out how critical for Korean historical phonology these Middle Korean digraph *-lq* writings are, even though they have to date received short shrift in the secondary literature.⁹ In view of what we now

⁸ This *q* is one of three laryngeal phonemes written in the Middle Korean script with graphs taken over directly from *hPhags-pa* originals. Ledyard in Kim-Renaud (1997.45, Table 2) attempts to equate the Korean graphs with their *hPhags-pa* originals but has little success. His *hPhags-pa* examples are mostly illegible, and he concludes that the correlations of the *hPhags-pa* graphs with their Korean derivatives "in the laryngeal class are too complicated for description". This is hardly the case, even though to be sure the literature on the laryngeal phonemes of the *hPhags-pa* script, like that dealing with similar features in the Chinese phonological tables, is frequently, as in Ledyard's account, maddeningly imprecise. At any rate, Chin W. Kim, also in Kim-Renaud (1997.146 and Table 1), correctly identifies the Middle Korean value of the graph at issue as "the occlusive [ʔ]". This *-lq* digraph is employed in Middle Korean texts from the invention of the script down to ca. 1468 (Yi Ki-mun [1972.114]; tsl. [1977.132]); thereafter it was replaced by simple *-l*, which naturally leads to still another possibility of confusing the etymological origins of the forms involved. Yi Sung-nyŏng (1948.11; ⁵1974.39) has important lists of *-lq* forms attested in a variety of early texts.

⁹ Martin (1992.50) treats the Middle Korean deverbil *-lq* writings as little more than an orthographic quirk of the early authors, or at best as "a morphophonemic phenomenon rather than a string of two phonemes". He arrives at this conclusion in large measure because he has been unsuccessful in sorting out the well-known cases in the texts where *-lq* was used to write the final consonant on Chinese loanwords that had original MChin. **-t* as their final, and hence has also been unable to keep these separate from the purely Korean forms written with the same digraph, these last being the only forms with which we are here concerned. Martin, *loc. cit.*, claims that "a satisfactory explanation of [why MChin. **-t* was rendered by MK *-lq* ~ *-l*] has yet to be offered." This is hardly the case. For decades it has been well understood that in many (most?) Northern Chinese varieties of Middle Chinese original final **-t* regularly shifted from a dental stop to some variety of an *l*- or *r*-like continuant. The philological evidence for this shift, too numerous and too well known for citation here, has escaped Martin's notice, but it answers all his problems. This Middle Chinese consonant-shift was also well understood in Korea at the time of the adaptation of the *hPhags-pa* script; an unfortunate by-product of that knowledge has been the modern misunderstanding of early Korean comments on this Chinese phonological phenomenon as giving credence to the hypothesis of a Korean "*t* > *l* lenition" (see Miller [1995.79]). Additionally, in his detailed remarks on the Korean deverbil suffix written in the early texts with the digraph *-lq* (1992.850), Martin departs even further from the facts. He describes this suffix as a 'prospective modifier', and explains that term with the glosses '... that is to be/do; ... that will be/do; ... that one will do (at/to/from/with)'. All this apparently is meant to indicate something to do with future tense. But the only two Middle Korean examples that he cites in support of this term and its gloss by no means fit that description. The first, from canto 25 of the 1445 panegyric, is MK *to-la'olq kun:să* 'the troops who had re-

understand concerning the probable origin of many (or, most?) cases of the Altaic $*l_2$, $*r_2$ out of still earlier sequences of $*l$, $r + C$,¹⁰ it is neither difficult nor improbable to postulate two different courses of phonological development from Proto-Altaic into Old Korean on the one hand and early Middle Korean on the other. In both cases, the suffix in question was originally $*-l + C$. In Old Korean, as in Turkic generally, this combination yielded $-š$, and this is what was written in the Old Korean texts with the phonogram *shih*. But the earliest layers of the Middle Korean texts represent a separate and hence also a different course of development from Proto-Altaic. The language behind them inherited these $*l$, $r + C$ sequences more or less intact, with the original C of these combinations preserved in the form of a glottal plosive, written as *q* in the sequence $-lq$, in the essentially phonetic (rather than phonological) *hPhags-pa*-based orthography of Middle Korean.

As it happens, precisely the same is true of the other important word in the Old Korean text fragment under discussion, the transcription of which in the German translation of Yi Ki-mun's text upon which he relied so badly misled Helimski. This is the word for 'road, way', written in the text with Chin. 道 *tào* 'id.' as a semantogram, followed by the phonogram *shih*. In Middle Korean the word for 'road, way' was a heteroclitic noun in $-h$ - (correctly recognized by

turned'. Here the formation in $-lq$ is onto MK *to-la-o-* 'to return'; but there is nothing in the least 'prospective' or future in the sense of the passage as Martin's own rendering, just cited, itself shows. The second, from the 1481 Tu Fu translation (15:47b), is even more puzzling. He cites a passage (already introduced earlier, his p. 421) that he renders, 'in the old days they did not know rebellion by the mountain feofdoms'. In the first place, the connection of this passage with the Tu Fu original (H-Y *Index* ed., *chüan* 19, Poem 27, tsl. von Zach [III 29]) is no simple matter. The text that Martin cites is not a translation of the poem text *per se* but rather a Middle Korean paraphrase of its *incipit* that explains the poem's veiled allusion to the infamous T'ang rebel An Lu-shan (705-757). Martin has misunderstood the rebel's given-name (Chin. *lù* 'emolument', *shān* 'mountain') to mean 'mountain feofdoms.' But of course there are no 'mountain feofdoms', nor even any 'mountain emoluments' here; the line means, "of old, who could have believed we would survive [An] Lu-shan's revolt ...". In his translation von Zach simply incorporated a notice of An into his text; Hung (1952:106-7) translated the poem literally but beautifully, adding a lucid commentary elaborating upon its adroit allusion to the havoc wrought on Chinese society by An's rebellion, culminating in his assassination in 757. In sum, neither of Martin's only two putative citations of these MK $-lq$ verbals is informative; his first example is neither 'prospective' nor future, and his second does not exist.

¹⁰ The original formulation of this hypothesis concerning the early (or, pre-) history of $*l_2$, $*r_2$ by Pritsak (1964) is an often overlooked landmark in Altaic historical linguistics. Attempts to expand its application to the elucidation of Korean linguistic materials, which were not part of Pritsak's data, have been made (Miller 1996b, 1999).

Helimski [1998.391]). Hence it appears to be entirely unobjectionable to interpret this particular Old Korean writing as *kiš*, and to assume that here an original final **l + g > l + h* has yielded OKor. *š*, alongside MK *kil.h-*, an etymologically related form that, while later in time, has nevertheless preserved the original **l + C* combination relatively intact in its heteroclitic paradigm.

Accordingly, we must also recognize by the same token that we have here to deal with two different courses of historical development from proto-Korean (and/or Proto-Altaic). As always in such matters, it is an over-simplification that may easily lead to erroneous conclusions to assume that the dates of our texts are necessarily congruent with the dates of the linguistic materials they preserve. The language of the somewhat late Middle Korean documents has, it would appear, frequently maintained forms that are linguistically older than other related forms to be found in the more antique Old Korean texts. Unfortunately Helimski has been so eager to refute that he has neglected to consult the original texts upon which his argument must, when all is said and done, stand or fall. Working only with the German translation of a modern Korean original (itself already flawed by the school-reading of *l / r* for the phonogram *shih*), he has overlooked the critical linguistic data that this text-fragment and other parallel writings fortunately preserve.

The same is true, and equally unfortunate, when Helimski suggests that this verbal suffix, which as we have seen in his writing is nothing more than a modern orthographic chimera, is “similar / identical” with the “Turk. **-r* (‘aorist’)” (*loc. cit.*). In fact, in the Chinese phonogram orthography of the Old Korean texts these aorist forms are kept clearly distinct from the *-š / -lq* adnominal verbal suffix discussed above. Yi Ki-mun (1972.75, *tsl.* Lewin 1977.85) prints a representative Old Korean text in which this aorist morpheme, here syntactically a converb, is written with a Chinese phonogram that can only be understood as a writing for OK *ra / la*, in Poem 8, line 4 of the Yang numbering of the texts (*tsl.* as No. 3 in P. Lee [1959.56-57], “we have come to cultivate wisdom”; the decipherment of this text and the identity of this construction involving the aorist converb are both original with early Japanese scholarship [Ogura 1929.201]). Yi Ki-mun (*loc. cit.*) notes correctly that precisely parallel forms involving this same aorist-converb construction are frequently found in Middle Korean texts where they are written with the *hPhags-pa*-based ⟨l⟩ graphs, and cites in evidence *pilmokura osini* ‘going begging’ (< MK *:pilmōk-* ‘to beg’) from the *Wöl’in sōkpo* 1.5 (the full text reads *na-la-haj :pil mō ·kū ·la ·o si ·ni ...* ‘going begging about the country ...’, original 1.5b, *facs. ed.* [1972] Sogang Univ. exemplar, p. 120; additional Middle Korean citations in Nam 500b).

Helimski is correct when he writes that the inherited aorist that survives in these Korean forms “has always been and remains one of the cornerstones of Altaic morphology”. But he is off-target when he lumps this aorist together with

the OK *-š*, MK *-lq* adnominal suffix, with which on the most obvious phonological grounds it clearly has nothing to do, either in sound or in sense, and then goes on further to ignore the fact that the Old Korean texts, for all their admitted orthographic difficulties, consistently manage to keep the phonogram orthography of these two carefully apart. The roman-letter *r* used to write an Old Korean form in a European-language translation of a modern Korean study does not necessarily mean that the Old Korean form in question had anything resembling the phoneme that such a writing suggests. Here, as always in such matters, it is essential to go back to the sources. This Helimski has twice neglected to do, first with the adnominal verbal suffix, then with the aorist. Particularly in the case of the latter, his hasty riposte threatens to wash out to sea what is in his own words a veritable “cornerstone of Altaic morphology,” a historical-linguistic artifact laboriously assembled over decades of scholarship.¹¹

It is also of probable utility for the future of these studies to keep in mind that the main thrust of Martin (1996) was to render moot several earlier attempts to suggest possible Japanese cognates for the etymon in question. These included two (Miller 1971.121; 1980.113-14, 161, 198-99) that introduced comparisons with OJ *izar-* ‘catch fish at sea’, and discussed *inter alia* the history and formation of several related formations including the doublet-form *azar-* ‘catch, gather seafood’. These verbs were interpreted as secondary denominal formations in Old Japanese on **is* ‘work’ + the inherited denominal verb-formative **+l*; that in turn helped to explain the internal change of *-s- > -z-*, such voicing being regular in Old Japanese denominal verbs in **+l*. Further obvious “Altaic” features appearing in these forms include the traces of the so-called “*i*-breaking” in the initial syllable of *azar-*. The suggestion was made that the work of gathering the community’s principal food supply from the ocean was so vital for ecological survival that for it the early Japanese used a word that etymologically meant simply ‘to do work’, *i.e.*, to carry out this, the most important work, business or occupation of the social group.

Nor are these the only Japanese forms that have been suggested as being relevant to this etymology, *pace* Martin’s objections. Vovin (1988.98) compared Trk. *iš*, WMo. *uile*, and NK *il* with “OJ *isö-si-m-u* ‘xorošo rabota’”’. (To these usual members of the received etymology Vovin added “Ryu[kyu] *uil* ‘delo, rabota’,” a form that if correct would be important, but that unfortunately

¹¹ Yu (1994.710, 777) has additional citations of parallel cases of the Altaic **-ra* aorist unambiguously noted in Old Korean phonogram writings. The study of this “cornerstone of Altaic morphology” began with Menges (1943); additional details concerning its implications for the history of Korean, particularly with respect to the evidence surviving for the Old Koryŏ language as found in a Chinese-Korean bilingual of 1102-1106, as well as data from the Early Middle Korean glosses of the Chinese interpreters’ vocabularies from the first part of the 15th century, are available (Miller 1995.80; 1996b.163-69).

cannot be verified.) Vovin was certainly on the right track, even though the vowel in his Old Japanese citation is incorrect (read: *isōsim-* ‘exert one’s self; work well’), and he might better have added other simpler Old Japanese formations that show the same putative formation more clearly, e.g., OJ *isōF-* ‘work diligently’, and OJ *isōg-* ‘attempt to complete work in a short period of time’ (both apparently denominal verbs on **iso*), as well as the adjective OJ *isōs-* ‘diligent at work’, which indeed underlies the secondary verb formation *isōsim-* that Vovin introduced into the discussion.

All these forms clearly have to do with ‘work’, and it is entirely reasonable to attempt to relate them in one way or another to the Altaic etymon with which we are here concerned, particularly now that we have documented the details of the earlier attestations not only of Trk. *iš* but of MK *:il* as well. As already explained, we hesitate to use the all-too easily abused term “basic meaning”. But if this rubric has any utility at all it may lie in the simple assertion that the “basic meaning” of all these Old Japanese forms, as well as of the many others related to them in a number of different languages, was and is ‘work.’

Such semantic clarification, important though it be, is far from being the ultimate goal of the historical-linguistic study of these Altaic forms, including their Korean reflexes. Rather it is only a preliminary exercise, unfortunately necessary in order to clear away the obfuscation that has been allowed to accumulate on the periphery of this etymology, much of it with the covert purpose of throwing the Altaic hypothesis, and particularly those portions of it that relate to Korean and Japanese, further into disrepute. Many other important tasks remain to be undertaken in connection with the history of these forms in the several languages; we must content ourselves with a brief summary of a few of the more crucial. Now that the misleading semantic issues raised in Martin (1996) along with the unproductive transcription-tangles introduced in Helimski (1998) have been laid to rest, these problems, and others as well, may in future usefully be studied in detail. Their investigation will surely throw new light upon a number of etymological issues.

Remaining for such investigation, for example, is the relationship of MK *:il* to the verb MK *il-* ‘become, arise, spring up, break out’, NK *īl-* ‘id.’ (In the texts the Middle Korean form does not appear with the ‘:’ suprasegmental marking that we would predict from the New Korean long vowel.) This verb has been discussed by Yi Ki-mun (1972.149-50; tsl. Lewin 1977.176-77) with particular attention to its secondary formations in MK -*’u-* and MK -*’ǎ-*, the former mostly in the sense of ‘to complete, accomplish a task fully’, the second generally ‘to erect a building’ (but Nam 1160a has citations showing that both these secondary formations were also used in the ‘build’ sense).

An important *locus classicus* for this verb is found in canto 57 of the 1447 Middle Korean panegyric, MK *iluzǎWǎni* ‘(they) accomplished (great deeds)’

(tsl. Hoyt [1971.100]; P. Lee [1975.210] misses the point of the text). Curiously enough, in this passage where we might well expect to encounter the noun MK :*il*, a Chinese loanword serves instead, so that if in this line there indeed is any trace of the etymon with which we are concerned it is in the verb, not the noun. In all these secondary verb stem formations what we write as -' transcribes a glottal phoneme (Martin [1992.54] has described it as a “glottal squeeze”!) that was routinely written in the *hPhags-pa*-based Middle Korean orthography. Usually ignored in historical studies of Korean, it is of course an element of the language that, like everything else the script writes, is to be taken seriously.

From the overall point of view of Altaic historical phonology we might expect that MK :*il* would have been a heteroclititic noun in -.*h*- < *-*g*-; such morphology would considerably facilitate comparison of the form with Trk. *iš* (cf. MK :*tol.h*-, Trk. *tāš*, OJ *isi* ‘stone’, etc.). But the noun is not heteroclititic, leading one to suspect that these secondary verbs with their internal -*l*- (< *-*l* + C) somehow point in the same direction. (At any rate, the etymology suggested in Martin, *K.-E. Dict.*, 1326b, that would relate NK *i.lu*- ‘accomplish, achieve’ to NK *i.lŭ*- ‘arrive at, lead to’ is best left aside.) A further complication involves the suggestion by Yi Sung-nyŏng (1966.63) that MK *i.lŭ*- ~ *il*- ‘to be early’ (NK *i.lŭ*-, inf. *il.lŏ* ‘id.’) is somehow cognate with the OJ *išŏg*- forms cited and discussed *supra*; these Korean forms for their part have also long been the subject of other Altaic etymological proposals (SKE 69; Sevortjan [1974.1:370]).

It is clear that here we confront a major etymological tangle, one probably further obscured by accidental homophones, but perhaps also involving early semantic gradations that are now difficult to unravel. If there is a connection here, perhaps the semantics worked along the lines of ‘early’ > ‘seasonable’ > ‘accomplished’, as in OLat. *mānus* ‘good’, Lat. *māne* ‘morning’, *mātŭrus* ‘ripe, mature’, *mātŭtŭnus* ‘early in the morning’ (Buck 1949.960). But if progress is ever made in bringing historical order into what obviously has long been a highly involved etymological cluster, it will only be because we now have a clear idea of the historical attestations of the Middle Korean noun that somehow must lie more or less at the heart of the matter, having managed to isolate it both from the “basic meaning” fallacy introduced into the discussion by Martin, and from the entanglement with the Trk. -*mİš* suffix that originated in a misreading of Polivanov, mistakenly elaborated by Ramstedt / Aalto, further confused by Martin, and now most recently embroiled in needless Old Korean transcription difficulties by Helimski.

Equally pressing are several problems relating to the Mongol and Tungus forms – and among Tungus, particularly the Manchu – that were originally compared with NK *il* by Shiratori, and that have remained part of this etymological construct ever since, whenever, wherever and by whomever it has been cited – though seldom if ever with credit to Shiratori. Particularly vexing is the

question of the back-and-forth relationships among the considerable number of Tungus forms that clearly are related to Ma. *weile* ‘crime, offence, punishment, sentence; matter, affair, work, deed,’ Ma. *weile-* ‘to work, make, construct, serve,’ and Ma. *weilen* ‘work, construction’, including of course but hardly limited to the semantic problems evident in these glosses.

Originally the TMS (1977.2.250, 2.266) sought to bring at least the semantic dimension of this question into some semblance of order by establishing two separate rubrics, one for the ‘crime’ lexemes in the various languages (2.250), the other for the ‘work’ lexemes (2.266). This still seems to be an excellent approach to the matter, but for some reason it is one that the subsequent literature on Tungus etymology has completely rejected. Doerfer (1985.119) and Rozycki (1994.222) both lump the ‘crime’ and ‘work’ words together into a single etymological cluster, as if each of the two sets were no more than (an unexplained!) semantic variant of the other (so also Martin [1996, *loc. cit.*]).

This having been done, first Doerfer and then independently of him Rozycki (but again both ignoring the TMS) turn to etymology proper, attempting to assign paths of borrowing to and from this language or that to account for each Tungus form. This implements their general un verbalized assumption that only borrowing, never genetic connection, is able to account for similarities in form and meaning between different languages. Some of Doerfer’s forms are said to have been borrowed from Mongol into Yakut, and then from Yakut into the various Tungus languages; others reached the same goal from Manchu. For Rozycki everything comes from “early MO[ngol]”, no matter where it ends up or what it looks like when it gets there. In etymology as in semantics both have ignored the entirely sensible suggestions of the TMS to their peril. There Cincius and her colleagues proposed entirely credible borrowing-scenarios for some but significantly not for all the Tungus forms, ultimately tracing the ‘work’ words to Mongol, but the ‘crime’ words to Manchu, and this Manchu in turn to Chinese. This hints at a semantic scenario that, to say the least, must be admired for its deft comprehension of the ethno-, *resp.* socio-linguistic vectors obtaining in the areas concerned over the past several centuries; it is virtually a short social history of the conquest dynasties in North China from Chinghis Khan’s Mongols to Nurhachi’s Manchus. In thus sketching a probable semantic history for these words Cincius and her colleagues were in part implementing an important etymological suggestion in Zaxarov (1875.1113b), who first brought Chin. 爲 *wéi* ‘to do, perform, carry out’ into consideration in connection with Ma. *weile-*. But like the other etymological hints in the TMS, this now-venerable hint by Zaxarov was ignored by Doerfer and Rozycki.

Clearly it ought not to have been. Chin. *wéi.le*, the same verb with the atonic post-verbal perfective-aspective marker 了 *.le*, is more than adequately attested in Middle Chinese at precisely the period when it would have been

eminently available for borrowing into Middle Mongol, *i.e.*, the time of the *Secret History* (Halliday 1959.56-57, 82-84; Norman 1988.123, 269 note 10). Even though Zaxarov and other early Western investigators of Manchu were sometimes all too ready to “derive everything from Chinese,” in more than one instance their etymological insights were neatly on-target. This may well have been one of those.

The question of the phonology of the Mongol and Tungus members of this etymology as originally assembled by Shiratori, and in particular its confrontation of WMo. *ui-*, Tg. *u-*, *ui-*, Ma. *wei-* with NK *i-*, also has yet to be addressed in the literature. At first glance it appears to offer considerable difficulties, but these may be more apparent than real. Relevant here is the treatment by Benzing (1955.973-74) of the proto-Tungus diphthongs in **V + i* and their numerous *i*-reflexes in, *e.g.*, Udhi, Evenki, and Lamut. It must also be remembered that the suprasegmental notation of MK *:il* in the texts may very well indicate that the vowel in this word was, at the time we have it attested, already the result of an earlier crasis of two vowels, perhaps the two members of a diphthong. In that case the long vowel of NK *īl* would also testify to the same earlier history. Tekin (1969.280), taking no note of the Korean evidence, attempted to solve this phonological crux with his reconstructions **uwile* < **iwile* to account for the Mongol; in the light of the comparative Tungus data, probably a simple diphthong of the shape **ui* would be more suitable (on other evidence for this same diphthong, see, *e.g.*, Poppe’s reconstruction **ujxe* accounting for Ma. *weihe* ‘tooth’, VGAS 33). Proceeding along these same lines, one must ask if there might possibly be an etymological connection between MK, NK *ilh-* ‘to loose’¹² and Ma. *waliya-* ‘to throw away, abandon’, even in the absence of evidence for an initial long vowel in the Korean forms.

Another tempting speculation is that further study of the phonology of these Tungus (and Mongol?) forms might eventually clarify the etymology of OJ *wasa* (later > *waza*), a much-neglected word abundantly attested in the early 8th-century Old Japanese imperial edicts of the *Shoku Nihongi* (ed. Kitagawa [1982], with a convenient *Index verborum*; tsl. Sansom [1924]). In these edict-texts, OJ *wasa* (*sic!* in phonograms in the earlier texts, but later, again in phonograms, *waza* with routine intervocalic voicing) appears as a gloss to Chin. *yèh*,

¹² Yi Ki-mun (1958.118 no. 233) makes the interesting point, possibly relevant here, that in some cases a Middle Korean string of the type noun + *hă-* ‘to do X’ may early on have been restructured into a verb in final *-h-*; MK *il-hă-* > NK *ilh-* ‘loose’ is one of several examples he cites. Adding to the orthographic problems of such forms is the fact that, *e.g.*, lexical sources generally cite these forms as verbs + *t’a*, as Nam 1180a, *il-t’a*. If Yi’s idea is sound, a similar development, though not attested, in the history of MK *:il-hă-* (cited and discussed *supra*) would supply a now-missing **ilh(-)* that in turn would help to account for a correspondence with Trk. *iš* < **il+C*.

the same word that we have seen *supra* as glossing MK *:il* in the 1445 Middle Korean panegyric. In his rendering of these texts Sansom uniformly translated OJ *wasa* ~ *waza* as “Task” (thus, “the rule of this land is a Task which was bequeathed to Thee by the August sovereign Thy father”, “the Task of the Throne,” “the Task laid upon Thee”, etc.). The semantic congruence of this Old Japanese term with the employment of MK *:il* in the 1447 Korean text is striking, to say the least; even more impressive is the parallel it presents with what we have learned *supra* of the socio-linguistic significance of OT *iš* in the Orkhon runic hendiadys *iš kiič*. Perhaps now that the literal sense of that Middle Korean passage and of the other important early Korean documentation for this word has been rescued from misleading allegations concerning its “basic meaning”, this Old Japanese term too may eventually be brought into a meaningful relationship with the larger Altaic etymology at issue here.

Obviously much remains to be learned about the history of the vocalism of the initial syllable in all these words. A single unilateral line of descent from Proto-Altaic cannot of course immediately account for divergent shapes such as the *:i-* in MK *:il* and the OJ *i-* in the forms introduced *supra*, while at the same time accounting for an initial OJ *wa-* in *wasa* > *waza*. But such a unilateral line of descent is often the exception rather than the rule in historical phonology, particularly as we go about the work of relating the “outer” Altaic languages (Japanese, Korean) to the “inner” members of the family (Turkic, Mongol, Tungus). Recognizing the principle that “each word has its history” does not in the least compromise the Neo-Grammarians’ doctrine of the “invariability of the sound laws.” What we probably have here is important evidence for recovering the phonological shape of this initial syllable at the most remote point-in-time that we are able to recover for the Altaic linguistic unity, together with data that will help establish the phonological shape of the same at more than one later step on the long and involved path that lies between that point and the present.

For the shape of this initial in Proto-Mongol Poppe (1955:82) has reconstructed **uji-*. Under various circumstances of phonological context that for the moment we cannot identify with the eventually necessary degree of precision, a similar Proto-Altaic sequence might well have resulted on the one hand in the unitary single long vowel of the Middle Korean form (**uji-* > *:i-*), and also in the parallel vowel of the Old Japanese *i*-forms, where it is indifferent in quantity; but on the other hand, and taking into account the Altaic “*i*-breaking”, it may also have resulted in OJ *wa-* as well (**uji-* > **uja-* > *wa-*). Many details remain here to be clarified; but now that the meaning of the forms is clear, that work may advance.

Much the same is true concerning a veritable and venerable *pons asinorum* of Altaic phonology that mars the etymology that we have here been studying, *i.e.*, the apparent correspondence of Chu. *-ś* with Trk. *-š* in these words. Noted

by Polivanov (but ignored by most who cite his article), this alone on the face of it rules out the facile comparisons that subsequently have appeared in the bulk of the literature. Mostly this problem has simply been ignored. When it has been taken into consideration, it has generally been explained away by labelling Chu. *ěś* a loan from some other Turkic language, generally but not always Tatar. It is well to keep in mind that this situation has arisen largely because the etymology, minus its Turkic components, was originally put together by Shiratori, who did not recognize the correspondences with which we today are familiar under the formulaic notations $*l_2$, $*r_2$. Hence when Shiratori went looking for words in other languages to compare with his Korean forms he was only interested in words with *-l(-)*; he found them in Mongol and Tungus but not in Turkic nor, significantly as it has turned out, in Chuvash.¹³

Poppe alone seems to have been consistently troubled by this question. As we have seen, he initially rejected the hypothesis that this etymology involved any variety of original $*l$ (1926). Then decades later he finally opted for the characteristically irenic proposal that in this and “eine Anzahl von Wörtern” with the same Chu. *ś*, Trk. *š* correspondence (Ligeti [1980.248-49] has a convenient inventory) we have to deal with etyma that “auf ein älteres $*č$ oder auch $*lč$ zurückgeht” (1974.140). His typically cautious “oder auch” alternative solution shows how far he was, even close to the end of his scholarly career, from a firm conviction about a solution to this problem, and so also by implication about the entire set of forms that make up our etymon. Apart from these telling albeit laconic remarks by Poppe, Altaic comparative studies, even when they were still taken seriously, made little progress in solving this question. All that one finds in the literature are freely invoked suggestions of loans from various languages in different directions, all of which are perfectly possible but all also impossible to document. Now that scholarly interest in such matters is no longer active, perhaps it is time to suggest that new comparative evidence from outside the usual “inner” Altaic languages may help to indicate a direction in which the problem may be addressed anew.

Thinking along these lines, we may wish to note that in addition to MK *:il*, with which we are by now well acquainted, other Middle Korean forms of comparable meaning and shape may be cited that appear significantly to support Poppe’s “ $*č$ oder auch $*lč$ ” speculation. The 1481 translation of Tu Fu has MK *ič’ŭ-* ‘to be weary, tired’ (*chüan* 16, Poem 16, line 5, ed. p. 252, tsl. von Zach (XX 31), p. 797, “[die herabgewehten Blumen] schweben müde [in der Luft ...]”), and MK *ič’ö-* ‘id.’ (*chüan* 10, Poem 25, line 5, ed. p. 146, tsl. von Zach

¹³ This is why the “Ryu[kyu] *uil* ‘delo, rabota’” of Vovin (1988.98) with its *-l-* is important; if the form can be verified (at present it cannot), it might cast light on the overall history of the etymology under discussion. For the moment, one is at a loss even to suggest how it might fit into the usual system of $*l_2 > \text{OKor. } š, \text{ MK } l, \text{ OJ, NJ } s$.

(X 32), p. 360, “[das alte Streitross ist schon] müde, [den Kopf emporzuwerfen]”); the second of these forms also appears in the same sense of ‘be weary, tired’ in the Korean version of a spurious Chinese text incorrectly ascribed to Tu Fu (cited Nam 1169-70). The semantic connection between these ‘weary, tired’ verbs and the sense of MK *·il* might have been something along the lines of the Romance developments of Lat. *labor* ‘toil, fatigue’ > ‘labour’ “with or without continued emphasis on the aspect of ‘toil, distress’” (Buck 1949.540). Even more suggestive is MK *·pül.tit-* ‘to cook food’ (in the 1527 Chinese-Middle Korean bilingual, C 6 5, ed. p. 109). The form obviously incorporates MK *·pül* ‘fire’, but that hardly rules out its relevance for the problem represented by Trk. *biš-* ~ *bış-* as against Chu. *pěš-* ‘to boil, cook’, another of Poppe’s “*č oder auch *lč” etyma (see also Ligeti [1980.248], Sevortjan [1978.161-64]; Poppe once more returned briefly to the problem of these words in *CAJ* 23 [1979], 143-44).

In connection with this last etymological proposal, it is worth noting that long ago Ramstedt proposed reconstructing an earlier Korean **pči-* to account for NK *čči-* ‘to steam, cook; cook by steaming’, and suggested confronting this postulated form with the Turkic forms just cited (SKE 32). Ramstedt could not know that his proposed hypothetical form is actually attested in texts from 1632 on (Nam 788; also written *sči-* in the 1748 Manchu-Korean bilingual), or that the earliest Middle Korean form that may be cited is even more to the point, viz. MK *·pti-* ‘id.’ frequent in the 1461 translation of the pseudo-*Śūraṅgama-sūtra*, as also in the 1481 translations of Tu Fu (Nam 772 ab). Here we have yet another example of Ramstedt’s prescient employment of comparative data accurately to predict the shapes of earlier Korean forms that we now know to be well attested in the earlier written records of the languages, records to which unfortunately Ramstedt had no access.

Much remains to be learned about such semantic pairs as MK *·pül.tit-* on the one hand and MK *·pti-* on the other, especially the details of their phonological interrelationship and the implications of the same for associating them with possible Altaic cognates. Our ‘work’ word is by no means the only venerable Altaic etymon still bedeviled by the Trk. *š*, Chu. *ś* but Mo., Tg. *l* correspondence; **bāl₂* ‘head’ is another infamous case. In the ‘work’ ~ ‘be weary, tired’ set, as well as in the ‘cook’ words, we appear to have Korean evidence both for Poppe’s **č* (< *t*?) as well as for his **lč*; and one must ask whether it is mere accident that in Korean we have both *-l-* and *-t-* forms attested for ‘head’ (MK *ma·li*, *mo·li* but Old Koryŏ †*mati*, Miller [1997/98.163 note 62]). Taken together, and studied with due attention not only to their sense but also to their shapes, these forms too may have something to contribute to the study of this well-worn Trk. *š* ~ Chu. *ś* phonological conundrum.

Thus correcting errors of fact and judgement that persist in the literature relating to this etymology has been tedious; but it has also been rewarding, over and above what it has told us of the history of the comparison in our title. We have been able to establish that the early Middle Korean deverbal adnominal suffix written with Korean versions of the *hPhags-pa* graphs <l + ʔ>, i.e., MK *-lq* (later MK and NK *-l*), directly corresponds to an Old Korean suffix *-š*, written thus in phonograms in our small but important corpus of Old Korean texts. The syntactic employment of all these suffixes puts one in mind of the Trk. *-mlš* perfect participle (also known under a variety of other names), with the important *caveat* that only the final consonant but neither the vowel nor the initial *m-* of the Turkic form may be traced in Korean of any period. None of these forms either in Turkic or in Korean has anything to do with the Altaic aorist **-ra*. This was an entirely different suffix, written in the Old Korean texts with phonograms [ra] or [la]. In Middle Korean texts this aorist appears written with Korean graphs that derive directly from the *hPhags-pa* graphs <l + a>, most likely indicating a pronunciation as [la], but for all that nevertheless ultimately reverting to the original **-ra* shape of this Altaic aorist suffix.¹⁴ Study of the history of the etymology in question has helped sort out all these Altaic for-

¹⁴ In Helimski's defence it may be added that his free-wheeling reduction of at least half-a-dozen different suffixes of widely different shapes in the history of Korean to a uniform *r* was not entirely motivated by his desire to refute; to some extent he was misled by Yi Ki-mun, who follows a similarly reductive course in more than one passage (e.g., 1972.21 ff.; tsl. 1977.23 ff.). As usual with uncritical following of the secondary literature, more than one important fact about the history of the language has thus been swept away, in particular the evidence of the texts for an early realignment of original /l/ and /r/ phonemes into a single /L/ phoneme with [-l], [-r], and [θ- ~ n-] allophones. *Pace* Yi Ki-mun (1972.18-19, tsl. 1977.19-21), developments of each of the four original Altaic liquids may be traced in Old Korean where they have four distinctive treatments. From this it follows that since the liquid in original pre-Kor. **VrV* > *θ* while that in **VlV* survived as *l*, it seems safe to assume that the *la* / *ra* phonogram writings of the texts represent [ra], not [la] (always keeping in mind, of course, the additional problem that Chinese, the donor-language of the phonograms, had only *l*+*V* but no *r*+*V*). The *hPhags-pa*-based early Korean orthography is rigorously phonetic, not phonemic. If the language at the time had known the modern [l, r] allophones of /L/ the orthography would surely have noted them, since the *hPhags-pa*, unlike the Chinese script, had unambiguous symbols for both [r] and [l]. But it wrote only [l], leaving us to conclude that the modern [l, r] allophonic distribution postdates the derivation of the Korean script from its *hPhags-pa* original. Today some western writers use *l* throughout in transliterating the Korean script; others, along with most Asians, use *r* throughout (thus, in the Lewin translation) (still others write the *l* and *r* allophones when transcribing the language, an operation distinct from transliterating the script). In part it may have been the generous profusion of *r*-forms in the German translation of his secondary source that here misled Helimski.

mants in the various languages; but none of them have anything to do historically with the Trk. *iš*, Kor. *il* ‘work’ comparison of our title. This for its part represents an etymon that may possibly revert to $*i(:)l_2 < *i(:)l\check{c} < *i(:)lt$, thus not only accomodating the otherwise aberrant Chu. *-ś* in this etymon but also pointing to new evidence in certain Middle Korean forms that may eventually clarify several similar phonological puzzles in the existing literature.

At any rate, tracing the history of this etymology, as well as documenting the history that this etymology embodies, shows that attention to historicity as a tool in the evaluation of linguistic reconstruction must not be restricted to the history of forms and their meanings, though both of course are important. Attention to historicity must also be directed in a consistent fashion to the sources that we employ for our information, not only to those sources that document the various earlier stages of the languages with which we work but also to the secondary literature that reports upon those sources. When with Martin we argue solely on the basis of evidence from the modern language even though it is contradicted by Middle Korean documentary sources, or when with Helimski we confuse the conventional romanisation of a modern Korean school-artifact with the language of the Old Korean text that it purports to transcribe, we seriously inhibit the ability of the comparative method to recover earlier stages in the history of language. Etymology is and will remain the study of the history of words. But at the same time, just as each word has its history, so also does each etymology.

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L i t e r a t u r e c i t e d

DTS = Nadeljaev et al., 1969
EAS = Ramstedt 1957
Nam = Nam Kwang’u 1997
SKE = Ramstedt 1949; Aalto 1953
TMS = Cincius et al., 1975, 1977
VGAS = Poppe 1960

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**CORNISH *manal* 'SHEAF', LATIN *manus* 'HAND'
AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS**

1. On Cornish *manal*, Latin *manus* and their congeners

1.1. Cornish *manal* 'sheaf' and Middle Breton *malazn* 'id.' (with metathesis of $n - l$ into $l - n$ like MBret. *alazn* 'breath' beside OIr. *ánál* 'id.') represent PCelt. **manatlo-* which originally can signify 'handful' like Lat. *manipulus* 'handful, bundle'; see Pedersen (1909-1913 I: 493) and Joseph (1982: 42). According to Joseph, loc. cit., PCelt. **manatlo-* can be explained as a zero-grade derivative of an Indo-European *set* root **menh_x-*; alternatively, he assumes that an underlying root **man-* with primitive **a* is also possible.¹ The latter possibility, however, is unlikely; it cannot account for Welsh *mûn* 'hand', which is formed with original **e*-grade of the root.¹

Then, Corn. *manal* and MBret. *malazn* can be derived, via PCelt. **manatlo-*, from IE **m_hh₂-e-tlo-*. The change of the Indo-European sequence **CR_hh₂e-* into PCelt. **CaRa-* is regular, cf. OIr. *tanae* 'thin, slender' < **tanawyo-*, which is derived from IE **t_hh₂ewo-*; Bret. *divalau* 'ugly, hateful, bad' < **de-malawo-* < IE **m_hh₂ewo-*, etc. As for the formation of PCelt. **manatlo-*, the reconstruction of a noun in **-e-tlo-* is supported by the well-known case of OIr. *scél* 'story', W. *chwedl* 'id.', etc., which continue IE **sk^w-e-tlo-*.

It is clear that the British evidence for an Indo-European *set* root **menh₂-* cannot be reconciled with the well-known explanation of Lat. *manus*, etc. as representatives of the *n*-stem of a heteroclitic noun **m_a-r*, **m_a-n-es*²; in view of the British forms, a re-interpretation of the related Lat. *manus*, etc. is necessary.

¹ Cf. § 1.2.

² For the reconstruction of an underlying noun **m_a-r*, **m_a-n-es* see Brugmann (1897-1916 I: 581), Walde and Pokorny (1927-1932 II: 272), Benveniste (1935: 13), Walde and Hofmann (1938-1956 II: 35) w. refs., Pokorny (1959: 740-741), Frisk (1960-1972 II: 175), etc.; this explanation is rejected by Schrijver (1991: 458) and Untermann (1992: 141 fn. 17).

1.2. The development of IE $*C\tilde{N}h_xV$ into Plt. $*CaNV$ is attested by instances such as Lat. *manēre* ‘to stay, remain, wait’ (< IE $*m\tilde{p}h_1-eh_1-$); Lat. *canicae* ‘bran’ (< $*k\tilde{p}h_2ekeh_2$), cf. the related Gk. *κνηκός*, Dor. *κνᾶκός* ‘pale yellow, whitish yellow’ and OPruss. *cucan* / $*kunkan$ / ‘brown’ (< IE $*k\tilde{p}h_2ko-$); Lat. *canō*, *canere* ‘to sing’ and Umbr. *kanetu* ‘caneto’ (< IE $*k\tilde{p}h_2-e/o-$, from which OIr. *canaid* ‘sings’ and W. *canu* ‘to sing’ are also derived); see Rikov (1998: 30-36) w. refs. If so, Lat. *manus*, $-ūs$ ‘hand’ and Umbr. loc. sg. *manuve* ‘in manu’ can be interpreted as representatives of this phonetic development; these Italic forms can continue an *u*-stem $*m\tilde{p}h_2-u-$, $*m\tilde{p}h_2-ew-$ (with secondary $*-ow-$ in Italic).³

There is no solid evidence for an *i*-stem in Italic. Thus, the Umbrian ablative sg. *mani* can be explained by the change of $*\tilde{u}$ into \tilde{i} as an *u*-stem ablative $*man\tilde{u}d$, see Buck (1904: 41) and Meiser (1986: 53). Since Oscan attests this sound change in final syllables (cf. Osc. abl. sg. *kastrid* ‘capite (?)’), the Oscan accusative sg. *manim* may analogically be built on the basis of an ablative in $*-id$ (< $*-\tilde{u}d$), cf. Buck (1904: 132). Then, in spite of the Old Irish *i*-stem *muin* ‘patronage, protection’ (< $*monh_2i-$), the interpretation of these Oscan and Umbrian forms as representatives of an original *i*-stem (cf. for instance Walde and Hofmann 1938-1956 II: 35) is uncertain.

It is significant in this respect that the isolated Welsh *mŷn* ‘hand’ also points to an *u*-stem. According to Pedersen (1909-1913 I: 384), this Welsh noun continues an Indo-European nom.-acc. du. $*men\tilde{u}$ and can be compared with Lat. *manus*; in view of the above analysis, the supposed IE $*men\tilde{u}$ must be rewritten as $*menh_2u-h_1$.

W. *mŷn* and Lat. *manus*, Umbr. *manuve*, when taken together, presuppose the existence of a proterokinetic paradigm IE $*menh_2u-$, $*m\tilde{p}h_2-ew-$ (with sec-

³ Schrijver (1991: 454-460) assumes that IE (and Plt.) $*o$ after $*m$ yields Plt. $*a$ when it occurs in open syllables and considers Lat. *mare* ‘sea’ and Lat. *manus*, Umbr. *manuve* (as if from $*mori$ and $*monu-$ respectively) to be the most probable representatives of this sound change (ibid., p. 465); hence he needs, however, to separate Corn. *manal* from the family of Lat. *manus* (ibid., p. 458). However, Lat. *mare* is derived from the weak stem and OIr. *muir*, etc. from the strong stem of a noun in $*-i-$: $*morh_2i$, $*m\tilde{p}h_xeys$, cf. already Peters (1980: 222), who reconstructs IE $*h_2morh_xi$, $*h_2m\tilde{p}h_xeys$; the double $-rr-$ of the related Hitt. *marmarr(a)-* ‘swamp, marsh’ confirms the reconstruction of an Indo-European *set* root (Rikov 1993: 29-30). The remaining six instances, adduced by Schrijver, also allow alternative explanations. Thus, Lat. *manēre*, which is a stative verb in $*-eh_1-$ like *calēre* ‘to be warm’, *valēre* ‘to be strong, well’ cannot represent $*mon-eh_1-$ (see Rikov 1998: 33-34 w. refs.); on Lat. *marītus* ‘coupled, married; husband’ see Peters (1980: 222), etc. In fact, Schrijver’s hypothesis that $*mo$ yields Plt. $*ma$ in open syllables is in close connection with the opinion that IE $*C\tilde{N}h_xV$ changes into Lat. *CeNV* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 218-222).

ondary *-ow- in Italic). It is possible, of course, that these *u*-stems are formed from a root noun (**menh*₂-/**m̥h*₂-).

1.3. As Schrijver (1991: 458) points out, forms such as Lat. *manceps* 'contractor, agent' and *mandō, mandāre* 'to hand over, deliver, entrust' are ambiguous; they can be derived either by syncope from the *u*-stem *manu*- or from a consonant stem **man*-⁴; yet the Umbrian accusative pl. *manf* can be interpreted as evidence for a Proto-Italic consonant stem **man*-,⁵ from which Lat. *mancus* 'maimed' might also be derived.

If so, the Proto-Italic consonant stem **man*-, which represents the regular reflex of the Indo-European prevocalic **m̥h*₂-, can be formed on the basis of the weak cases gen. sg. **m̥h*₂-es, dat. sg. **m̥h*₂-ey, etc. of an Indo-European root noun; we are probably dealing with the generalization of this zero-grade weak stem in the whole paradigm in Proto-Italic, cf. the generalized zero-grade weak stem in the case of Lat. *cor*, gen. sg. *cordis* 'heart', etc.

The Germanic evidence confirms the reconstruction of an Indo-European root noun.

The Germanic languages attest ON *mund* 'hand', OE *mund* 'hand, protection', OS *mund* 'protection', OHG *munt* 'id.' (< PGmc. **mundō*) and ON *mundr* 'dowry', OFris. *mund* 'protection' (< PGmc. **munda-z*),⁶ see Kluge and Seebold (1999: 574). It is well known that IE **Rh*_x*C* regularly changes into PGmc. **uRC*, cf. Goth. *kunps* 'known' (< IE **g̥h*₃-to-), *fulls* 'full' (< IE **p̥h*₁-to-), *wulla* 'wool' (< IE **h*_{2/3}*w̥h*₁*neh*₂)⁷ and see Beekes (1988: 99). Then, PGmc. **mundō* and **munda-z* can continue **m̥h*₂-téh₂ and **m̥h*₂-tó-, which are derived from the weak stem **m̥h*₂- of an Indo-European root noun; their formation is similar to that of OIr. *nert* 'strength', W. *nerth* 'id.' (< PCelt. **ner*-to-, cf. Skt. *nár*- 'man', Gk. *án̄r̥p* 'id.'), Goth. *hunds* 'dog' (< **k̥w̥n*-tó-, cf. Skt. *śván*-, gen. sg. *śunaḥ* 'dog', Gk. *κόων* 'id.'), etc.

⁴ The latter possibility is preferred by Walde and Hofmann (1938-1956 II: 35), Ernout and Meillet (1951: 668) and Leumann (1977: 391), who also adduced *mansuēs*, -*ētis* 'tame; mild, gentle', *mansuētus* 'tame, domesticated', *mantēle*, *mantellum* 'hand-towel, napkin' and *malluviae*, -*ārum* 'water in which the hands have been washed'.

⁵ In view of *mandāre*, *mantēle*, *manceps*, etc., Untermann (1992: 141) explains Lat. *manus* as a root noun, enlarged by -*u*-; however, he mentions about Umbr. *manf* (fn. 17): "Umbr. *manf* (Akk. Pl.) is neben den eindeutigen Belegen für einen -*u*-Stamm in den Iguvinischen Tafeln kein zuverlässiges Zeugnis für einen Konsonantstamm".

⁶ Cf. also the denominative verbs OE *mundian* 'to protect', OE *mundon* 'id.' and OHG *muntōn* 'id.'. – On the etymology of Goth. *manwus* see Feist (1939: 345-346) and Lehmann (1986: 245).

⁷ Cf. Peters (1987: 114-115).

1.4. The Hittite denominative verb *maniyahḫ-* (rarely *manyahḫ-*) ‘to distribute, entrust, hand over, show, administer, govern’ can be derived from an adjective in **-yo-* (or **-iyo-*), cf. Tischler (1977-1994 II: 120-121) w. refs. Then, IE **monh₂yo-* would account well for **man(i)ya-*, from which *maniyahḫ-* is formed; for the phonetic development cf. Hier. Luw. *haniya-* ‘malicious’ (< **h₃enh₂yo-*) and Cun. Luw. *hanḫaniya-* ‘be malicious’, on which see Melchert (1994: 69 w. refs.).

On the other hand, the Proto-Anatolian adjective **man(i)ya-*, underlying Hitt. *maniyahḫ-*, can alternatively be explained as an inner-Anatolian formation; it can be derived from a Proto-Anatolian consonant stem **man-*, the single **-n-* (< **-nh₂-*) of which is due to the fact that this stem would originate from the preconsonantal IE full-grade **monh₂-* or **menh₂-* and zero-grade **mnh₂-*, continued by the nominative sg. PAnat. **man-s* (< IE **monh₂-s* or **menh₂-s*) and the instrumental sg. PAnat. **man-d/t* (< IE **menh₂-d/t* or **mnh₂-d/t*)⁸; on the instrumental sg. ending **-d/t* see Neu (1979: 190-191) w. refs. and cf. OHitt. instr. sg. *ganut* (: *genu-* ‘knee’), *kiššarta* (: *keššar-* ‘hand’) etc.

2. IE **menh₂-* and IE **meh₂-*: Old Irish *mám* ‘fistful’

PCelt. **manatlo-*, attested by Corn. *manal* and MBret. *malazn*, is a noun in **-e-tlo-* (**mnh₂-e-tlo-*) and points to an underlying Indo-European verb root **menh₂-*.

The root noun **mnh₂-*, attested by Plt. **man-* and underlying PGmc. **mundō* and **munda-z*, can also be a deverbative.

The attested *u-* and *i-*stems can be explained either as deverbatives or as extensions of a deverbative root noun.

This set of forms can be related to OIr. *mám* ‘fistful (as much as can be taken between the two palms of the hands)’, gen. sg. *máime* and W. *mawaid* (**mawf-*), which can be derived from an Indo-European verb **meh₂-*⁹; as for the formation of OIr. *mám* and W. **mawf-*, cf. deverbatives such as OIr. *snám* ‘swimming’, W. *nawf* (: Skt. *snāti* ‘bathes’, Lat. *nāre* ‘to swim’), etc.

⁸ Similarly, the laryngeal can regularly be lost after sonants and at the end of the word, cf. the single *-l* of the Hittite nom.-acc. sg. nt. *memal* ‘groats, grits’ (< **memolh₂*), hence the analogical single *-l-* in forms such as the instr. sg. *memalit* (vs. *memallit* with the regular *VlIV* < **Vlh₂V*), see Melchert, loc. cit.

⁹ According to Pedersen (1909-1913 I: 169), OIr. *mám* and W. *mawaid* are related to Lith. *móti*, *móju* ‘Handbewegung machen, mit der Hand zum Schlage ausholen, winken, Wink geben, schwenken’; from the point of view of the semantics, this connection seems doubtful. Cf. Walde and Pokorny (1927-1932 II: 220) and Vendryes (1960: M15).

If so, the supposed Indo-European verb **menh₂-* can be interpreted as a nasal infix present, derived from IE **meh₂-*. Other representatives of this type of nasal infix presents are Lith. *penù* 'I fatten' < IE **penh₂-*, cf. the acute intonation of Lith. *pėslas* 'Masttier, Mastschwein' (: Lat. *pāscō* 'I feed')¹⁰; Skt. *bhānati* 'speaks, sounds' < IE **b^henh₂-* (: Gk. *φημί*, Dor. *φᾶμί* 'I say, affirm, assert')¹¹; Gk. *φαίνω* 'I bring to light', which is derived by the suffix *-ie/-io-* from an earlier nasal infix present **φᾶνω* < IE **b^hnh₂-e/o-* (: Skt. *bhāti* 'shines').¹²

3. Albanian *marr* 'take, grasp' and Greek *μάρη* 'hand'

3.1. If Alb. *marr* 'take, grasp' and Gk. *μάρη* 'hand' are derivatives of an Indo-European *r*-stem, this *r*-stem can be formed from an Indo-European root **meh₂-*, seen in OIr. *mám* and W. *mawaid* as well. This requires the reconstruction of IE **mh₂r-*, underlying Alb. *marr* and Gk. *μάρη*; if so, the consonantal **m-* of this zero-grade preform is analogical to that of the full-grade **meh₂-* as in the case of Hitt. *muhra(i)-* 'Wadenbein (?)' < **mh₂r-* (: *mahra(i)-* < **meh₂r-*).¹³

3.2. However, Alb. *marr* and Gk. *μάρη* are etymologically ambiguous; other possibilities can also be taken into consideration.

Thus, Demiraj (1997: 257-258) explains Alb. *marr* (aor. *mora*) as a primary verb, related to Skt. 2nd sg. impv. act. *prá mṛṇā* 'seize!' RV. VI 44.17, and derives the Albanian present from IE **mṛh₂V-*.

However, if the Indo-European interconsonantal **-R_hx-* yields Alb. *-ar-* (see Beekes 1988: 103 and cf. Alb. *parë* 'first', if from IE **pṛ_hxwo-*, to which Skt. *pūrvah* 'the first, foremost, prior' is also traced back), Alb. *marr* can be explained as thematicization of a nasal infix present of the type Skt. *jānāti* 'knows, understands'. Then, if *-ar-* of Alb. *marr* represents the reflex of IE **R_hx-* between consonants, the Albanian present relates to Skt. 2nd sg. impv. act. *mṛṇāhi*

¹⁰ See Rikov (1993a: 115-116).

¹¹ See Rikov (1993a: 117). – According to Kümmel et al. (1998: 55), Skt. *bhānati* is thematicization of **bhana-* < **b^hneh₂-*. However, the reconstruction of IE **b^hneh₂-* (with syllabic **-n-*) is unlikely.

¹² Rikov (1993a: 116-117), cf. also Klingenschmitt (1982: 113), Kümmel et al. (1998: 54-55).

¹³ On the explanation of Hitt. *muhra(i)-* (with anaptyctic *-u-* after labial) and *mahra(i)-* as zero- and full-grade forms respectively, see Weitenberg (1979: 303) and Melchert (1994: 175). Yet the connection of Hitt. *muhra(i)-* and *mahra(i)-* with Gk. *μάρη* offers semantic problems.

‘seize down!’ AV. X 1.17, Gk. μάρναμαι ‘I fight, do battle’¹⁴ (thematicized 3rd sg. impf. act. *amṛṇāt* ‘robbed’ RV. X 138.4 and *prá mṛṇā*) as Skt. *krīṇāti* ‘buys’ to Pali *kiṇāti* (< **krināti*); Skt. *prá mīnāti* ŚB. to *mināti* ‘damages, lessens, diminishes’ RV., etc. In fact, Skt. *jānāti*, *krīṇāti* and *prá mīnāti* represent an innovative type which received *jā-*, *krī-*, *mī-* from zero-grade forms such as the Sanskrit ppp. *jātá-* (< IE **ǵnh₃-to-*), see Strunk (1967: 122-123) w. refs.; the presents in *-new-/*-nu- also attest this type, cf. Av. *surunaoiti* ‘hears’ and probably OIr. *-cluineithar* ‘id.’¹⁵ (vs. Skt. *śṛṇóti* ‘hears, learns, attends’).¹⁶ Then, Alb. *marr* can be explained as a remodelling of the nasal infix present IE **mṛneh₂-ti*, **mṛnh₂-enti*, which is continued by Skt. *mṛṇīhi* and Gk. μάρναμαι.

If Gk. μάρη ‘hand’, attested only in Pindar, Fr. 310, is reliable,¹⁷ it can be added to this set of forms. The formation of this Greek noun, which points to IE **mṛh₂-eh₂*, is identical to that of Gk. κάπη ‘manger’ (: κάπτω ‘gulp down’), μάχη ‘battle, combat’ (: μάχομαι ‘fight’), etc., and presupposes an underlying verb with zero grade of the root. As for the semantics, cf. OIcel. *grip* ‘hand’, OE *gripa* ‘handful’ (: OIcel. *grīpa* ‘seize, take’) and probably PGmc. **handu-z* ‘hand’ (cf. Goth. *handus* ‘hand’, OIcel. *hond* ‘id.’, OE *hond* ‘id.’, etc.), if it is derived from PGmc. **henþa-* (cf. Goth. *fra-hinþan* ‘to take captive’, etc.).

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¹⁴ According to Thieme (1939: 233 w. fn. 1), Skt. *mī-* signifies ‘gewaltsam packen, rauben’, and the original meaning of Gk. μάρνασθαι is ‘einander packen (in Ringkampf)’; cf. also Mayrhofer (1956-1980 II: 673).

¹⁵ However, according to McCone (1991: 120), OIr. *-cluineithar* continues **klu-ni-tor* which, with metathesized *u – i* from **i – u*, comes from **kli-nu-tor*.

¹⁶ See Strunk, loc. cit. (w. refs.).

¹⁷ Cf. Chantraine’s (1968-1980: 667) doubts about the connection of Gk. μάρη with εύμαρής ‘easy, convenient’ which, after Forssmann’s analysis, might be related rather to μέρος ‘share, portion’. The etymology of Gk. μάρις, -εως ‘a liquid measure’, containing six κοτύλαι (Arist., Pol.) or ten χόες (Polyaen.), diminutive μάριον is also uncertain, and this leads to doubts about the authenticity of the hapax leg. μάρη which remains completely isolated in Greek.

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**DIE BALTISMEN DES OSTSEEFINNISCHEN
UND DIE TÜRKISCHEN / IRANISCHEN ELEMENTE
DES UNGARISCHEN IN SACHGESCHICHTLICHER HINSICHT**

In Hakulinens Handbuch lesen wir: "Immerhin (sic! – ?) darf der kulturgeschichtliche Einfluß der Urbalten auf die Urfinnen nicht überschätzt werden. Er wird bei weitem übertroffen von dem nur wenig später einsetzenden germanischen Einfluß"¹ (1957/60, 2, S. 51). "Immerhin" wird die baltische Herkunft des

¹ Das hier angenommene zeitliche Nacheinander trifft zweifellos das Richtige. Dies erhellt allein schon aus dem erratischen Block von Musteretymologien mit der Phonemfolge *ti* oder *di* auf baltischer Seite, die ausnahmslos dem uralostseefinnischen Wandel **ti > si* unterliegen: fi. *silta*, *niisi*, *morsian*, *virsi* und *karsina*. Eine auch nur halbwegs akzeptable Herleitung eines ostseefinnischen Wortes aus dem Germanischen, die den in Rede stehenden Lautwandel widerspiegeln würde, ist bisher nicht vorgelegt worden. Bezüglich einer einschlägigen Herleitung, die Koivulehto vehement verteidigt (20-21), der von *asia* 'Sache, Angelegenheit', bei der "die Etymologie von Johannisson (1941) für gleichbedeutendes schwed. *ärende*, aschwed. *ærende*, an. *erendi*, *erindi*, *ørendi*, *eyrendi* (< germ. **uz-andia-/andja-*) zugrundegelegt" wurde, und die angeblich "die Schwierigkeiten der früheren Erklärungen beseitigte: das nordische Wort ist eine mit **uz-* präfigierte *ja-*Ableitung zu einer Sippe zu der an. *inna* (< urnord. **inþia-*) 'ausführen, leisten; entrichten, hersagen' und an. *önn* (< germ. **anþō*) 'Eifer, Anstrengung' gehören", reicht es auf eine vernichtende Bemerkung in einem germanistischen Standardwerk hinzuweisen: Am Ende des Artikels *árunti* des Buches von Albert L. Lloyd und Otto Springer wird festgestellt (Band I, S. 355): "Aber auch alle anderen Erklärungsversuche überzeugen nicht, ...; noch viel weniger T. Johannissons forcierter Einfall (sic!), ahd. *arunti* auf das Präfix germ. **uz-* und ein erschlossenes germ. **inþan* zurückzuführen, für das jedoch nur im Nordgerm. Belege wie aisl. *inna* 'ausführen, vollbringen' ..."; dazu E. Rooth in *Scripta minora* (...), Lund, 1971, 1-25. Das Argument, daß dem der "dreifache (nach Noreen unursprüngliche) Ablaut in zweiter Silbe im Schwedischen der Etymologie von Johannisson" entgegenstehe, da "ein solcher Ablaut für Suffixe charakteristisch sei" (vgl. Noreen 1904: § 180, 4: *-inde ~ -ande ~ agutn. -undi*), glaubt Koivulehto wie folgt entkräften zu können: "Johannisson hat natürlich dies genau untersucht und stellt schon eingangs fest, daß ein etymologisch ganz anderes, aber mit unserem Wort mehr oder weniger homonymes Wort, nämlich an. *ørendi*, *eyrindi* usw., einen ähnlichen Wechsel in der zweiten Silbe aufweist, und zwar *indi ~ endi*

Zahlwortes ‘1000’ (fi. *tuhat*) von Hakulinen – mit Recht – als “besonders bemerkenswert” bezeichnet (49).

Nicht weniger “bemerkenswert” sind in kulturgeschichtlichem Zusammenhang die Bezeichnung für ‘Brücke’ und die Farbnamen. Es handelt sich dabei um Begriffe, die im Ungarischen mit Wörtern iranischer oder türkischer Provenienz benannt werden. Auch bei anderen Sachgruppen – mit zumeist mehreren Vertretern – finden sich zahlreiche Parallelen (im Falle des Ungarischen türkische Herkunft unbezeichnet; Fettdruck: ossetisch):

Sachgruppe	Ostseefinnisch		Ungarisch	
	Balt.	Germ.	Türk./Ir.	Slav.
‘tausend’	<i>tuhat</i>		<i><u>ezer</u></i>	
‘sieben’			<i><u>hét</u></i>	
‘zehn’			<i><u>tíz</u></i>	
‘Brücke’			<i><u>hid</u></i>	
‘Axt, Beil’	<i>kirves</i>		<i>balta</i>	
‘gelb’	<i>keltainen</i>		<i>sárga</i>	
‘grau’	<i>harmaa</i>		<i>szür(ke)</i>	
‘grün’			<i>zöld?</i>	
‘blau’	<i>sininen?</i>		<i>kék</i>	
‘Nabel’	<i>napa</i>		<i>köldök</i>	
‘Zahn’	<i>hammas</i>			
‘Brust’		<i>rinta</i>		
‘Hals’	<i>kaula</i>		<i>nyak?</i>	
‘Schwester’	<i>sisar</i>			
‘Tochter’	<i>tytär</i>			
‘Mutter’		<i>äiti</i>		
‘Stiefmutter’				<i>mostoha</i>
‘Wolle’	<i>villa</i>		<i>gyapjú</i>	

(einmal auch *orundom*) (Johannisson 1941: 3). Und dieses Wort enthält nun unbestritten germ. *uz- und eine ja-Ableitung zu *andi- ‘das Atmen’. Unser Wort (wie auch das Wort für ‘Atemlosigkeit’) wurde ja längst nicht mehr etymologisch verstanden (seine Motivation war also verdunkelt), und so konnte es leicht zu sekundärem Vokalwechsel kommen, da man ja natürlich den Wortausgang leicht mit einem Suffix identifizierte. Daß die altgutnische Form *orundi* mit der altsächsischen (und mit der althochdeutschen) Form übereinstimme – bis auf die Länge des anlautenden Vokals? – ist keineswegs entscheidend, außerdem kann sie von der altsächsischen Form lautlich beeinflusst sein ...”. Die letztgenannte Übereinstimmung ist indessen sehr wohl “entscheidend”, denn sie besagt, daß der Wechsel schon in urgermanische Zeit datiert, als die Bildung durchaus noch durchsichtig war! Der Koivulehtoschen Etymologie ist damit der Boden entzogen!

Sachgruppe	Ostseefinnisch		Ungarisch	
	Balt.	Germ.	Türk./Ir.	Slav.
‘Schaf’		<i>lammas</i>		<i>bárány</i>
‘Hammel’	<i>oinas</i>		<i>űrű</i>	
‘Widder’			<i>kos</i>	
‘Jährling’			<i>toklyó</i>	
‘Ziege’	<i>vuohi</i>		<i>kecske</i>	
‘Schwein’			<i>dizsznó</i>	
‘Eber’			<i>ártány</i>	
‘Kitz’			<i>olló</i>	
‘Kuh’			<i>tehén</i>	
‘Kalb’			<i>borjú</i>	
‘Färse’			<i>ünő</i>	
‘Ochse’	<i>härkä</i>		<i>ökör</i>	
‘Stier’			<i>bika</i>	
‘junger Ochse’			<i>tinó</i>	
‘Heu’	<i>heinä</i>			<i>széna</i>
‘Stroh’				<i>szalma</i>
‘Gerste’	<i>ohra?</i>		<i>árpa</i>	
‘Weizen’			<i>búza</i>	
‘Roggen’	<i>ruis?</i>	<i>ruis?</i>		<i>rozs</i>
‘Bier’	<i>olut?</i>	<i>olut?</i>	<i>sör</i>	
‘Hopfen’		<i>humala</i>	<i>komló</i>	

Die Synopse legt die Annahme nahe, daß der Kontakt der Urostseefinnen mit den Balten eine ähnliche Rolle gespielt hat wie die Symbiose der Urungarn mit türkischen und iranischen Völkerschaften, d.h. daß die in Rede stehenden Lehnwortschichten vor den weitaus zahlreicheren slavischen Lehnwörtern des Ungarischen bzw. germanischen Lehnwörtern des Ostseefinnischen als Indizien für den wichtigsten Wandel in der materiellen Kultur der beiden finnisch-ugrischen Völkerschaften zu werten sind.

Bei der semantischen Betrachtung von Lehnwort muß man sich freilich darüber im klaren sein, daß eine Einteilung von Entlehnungen in Sachgruppen mit einigen Unsicherheitsfaktoren behaftet ist. Lexeme lassen sich synchron zwar mehr oder weniger leicht nach ihrer prototypischen Verwendung gliedern. Im Falle von Lehnwörtern aber ist zumeist – und je weiter der Zeitpunkt der Entlehnung zurückliegt, umso mehr – der sachliche Hintergrund einer Entlehnung nicht mehr eindeutig auszumachen. Jedes Lexem gehört immer mehreren Sachgruppen an. Im Falle der ungarischen Farbnamen türkischer Provenienz hat man durch die Untersuchung von Trachten plausibel machen können, daß die Ter-

mini nicht in die Sparte "Natur" gehören, sondern in die Sachgruppe "Textilien" einzureihen sind.² Ob im Falle der baltischen Farbnamen, bei denen der Entlehnungszeitpunkt ja sehr viel weiter zurückliegt, eine entsprechende Beziehung noch auszumachen ist, muß freilich bezweifelt werden.

Natürlich kann man – wie z.B. Kalima verfährt – das ostseefinnische Brückenwort etwa in die Rubrik "Baulichkeiten" einreihen, aber ob hier tatsächlich entwickeltere technische Fähigkeiten auf der Seite der baltischen Lehngabe die Ursache oder zumindest die einzige Ursache der Übernahme war, bleibt ungewiss. Versucht man ein onomasiologisches Spektrum für die Benennung der Brücke zu eruieren, kann man feststellen, daß dieses Lexem in etymologischer Hinsicht sehr vielschichtig ist. Es fehlt auffallend häufig eine zwingende Etymologie (wie beim germanischen Wort) oder es weist eine schwerlich bezweifelbare Gleichung (wie bei der armenischen und griechischen Vertretung, wo in beiden Fällen ein identisches, hoch markiertes Formans vorliegt) bei einigen Lautsegmenten irreguläre Entsprechungen auf, was die Vermutung tabuistischer Entstellung nahelegt, wobei etwa an die Rolle der Brücke in der iranischen Mythologie oder auch an die Bedeutung des lateinischen Kompositums *pontifex* zu denken ist. Man kann mithin nicht ausschließen – Indizien dafür fehlen aber offenbar –, daß im Falle des ungarischen und ostseefinnischen Brückenwortes die profane Verwendung des Terminus nicht die ursprüngliche bzw. die alleinige war.

Der Name der Axt wiederum kann in die Sparte "Kriegswesen" gehören oder ist in den Sinnbezirk "Handwerk" bzw. im vorliegenden Fall noch spezieller mit einer Reihe weiterer Termini in die Rubrik "Bauwesen" einzuordnen.

Als Gradmesser für die Intensität von Lehnbeziehungen gelten häufig Körperteilnamen, von denen sich auffallend viele unter den Baltismen des Ostseefinnischen finden. In der Tat ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Entlehnung eines Terminus umso geringer, je elementarer der Begriff ist. Die Bemerkung Lauri Hakulinens bei der Diskussion dieser Gruppe in seinem Handbuch (jedenfalls in der deutschen Fassung), daß die Urfinnen ja auch Zähne und einen Hals gehabt hätten, ist – bei allem Respekt vor einem großen Namen – ziemlich einfältig. Besonders bemerkenswert erscheint im vorliegenden Zusammenhang die Entlehnung des Nabelwortes des Ostseefinnischen und des Ungarischen, nicht zuletzt auch in Anbetracht der weitgehenden Resistenz, Resistenz gegenüber Neubildung in erster Linie, in der Indogermania, vom Indoiranischen über das Griechische, Lateinische, Keltische und Germanische bis eben auch zum Baltischen. Auch die Bezeichnungen für nahe Verwandte gehören in diesen Kontext.

Erwartungsgemäß ist indessen die hohe Frequenz türkischer Termini aus dem Bereich der Viehzucht und mit ihr im Zusammenhang stehender Produkte

² Csilléry 96.

im Ungarischen, hier ließe sich die Liste bedeutend erweitern, so sind etwa *borjú* ‘Kalb’, *tinó* ‘junger Stier’, *olló* ‘Geißlein, Zicklein’ und andere ebenfalls türkischer Herkunft. Auffallend ist hier wiederum – und das gilt jetzt für beide Sprachen – der hohe Anteil an Namen für Kleinvieh, höchstwahrscheinlich ein Indiz für einen entscheidenden, elementaren Wandel in der Wirtschaftsform. Auch die Übernahme des Wortes für ‘Wolle’ scheint in diese Richtung zu weisen sowie die im folgenden Tabellenabschnitt aufgeführten Termini für elementare Nutzpflanzen und ein Produkt. Hier ist jeweils der für die Intention ungünstigste Fall gewählt worden, es spricht mehr für baltische Herkunft der Bezeichnung für das Bier und für germanische Provenienz der Namens des Roggens – bei baltischer Herkunft wäre eher ein **rukijas* zu erwarten (vgl. estn. *takifjas*, fi. *takiainen* ‘Klette’ und lit. *dagys*) – und dann wäre die Parallele perfekt. Hinzu kommt, daß der ostseefinnische Getreidenamen als Nomen materiae pluralisch verwendet wird, und auch im Baltischen – zumindest im Ostbaltischen – sind Getreidebezeichnungen gewöhnlich ebenfalls pluralia tantum.

Es gibt indessen ein Argument, das entschieden gegen baltische Herkunft des Wortes zeugt. Der ostseefinnische Nominaltypus auf *-is* hat sich offensichtlich erst durch die Fülle entlehnter germanischer *i*-Stämme im Ostseefinnischen etabliert, wie Hofstra in seinem opus magnum dargelegt hat. Stellten die baltischen Entlehnungen eine jüngere Stufe als die germanischen dar, hätten auch die gleich strukturierten urbaltischen *-i*-Stämme mit dem Nominativausgang *-is*, aber auch prinzipiell die *jo*-Stämme, in die Stammklasse auf *-is* eingebaut werden können. Dies ist jedoch nicht der Fall (vgl. *niisi* (*-e*-) ‘Weberkamm’, *hanhi* (*-e*-) ‘Gans’ – lit. *nytis* bzw. *žq̃s̃is* und fi. *parsi* (*-e*-)).

Ausgegangen kann beim letzten Wort von baltischen Bildungen von der urindogermanischen Wurzel **sper-* werden, zu der mhd. *sparre* ‘Stange, Balken’ und russ. *но́дн(к)а*, poln. *podpórka* ‘Stütze’ gehören: lit. *sparas* ‘Stütze, Stäbe(balken)’, (dial.) *sparis* ‘Leinweberrute, (Leiter)sprosse’. Zum Formellen läßt sich auf weitere zugehörige Bildungen verweisen; hierher gehören auch lit. *paspartis* ‘Unterstützung; Stütze’ und ablautend (dial.) *paspartis*, ‘Unterstützung, Stütze’, *paspirà*, *pasparà* und viele andere mit den nämlichen Bedeutungen. Das zugrunde liegende Verb ist in lit. *spirti* ‘sich widersetzen, (nieder-, an-) drücken’, Refl. ‘sich stützen’, *paspirti* ‘stützen’ fortgesetzt (Fraenkel). Koivulehto hat dagegen vorgebracht, daß lit. *paspartis* “fast ausschließlich übertragen” gebraucht würde. Dieser – schriftsprachliche! – Befund ist relativ belanglos, dialektal ist es nun mal in konkreter Bedeutung belegt, und das ist mehr als bei einer Unmenge von Hofstra akzeptierten germanischen Etymologien Koivulehtos! Wo gibt es eine baltische Bedeutung ‘Gerste’ für das von Koivulehto für fi. *ohra* in Anspruch genommene urbaltische Etymon, das in altlit. *aštras*, lit. *aštrus* ‘spitz’ fortgesetzt sein soll? Und was hat Koivulehto im Falle von *parsi* selbst der Herleitung aus dem Baltischen entgegenzusetzen? Das Etymon des

Koivulehto zufolge "allgemein ... Balken bzw. Stangen, die immer waagrecht liegen, etwa Balken ... in der Wand beim Blockbau" bedeutenden ostseefinnischen Wortes soll das urgermanische Wort für 'Bart' (sic!) sein, wobei er "besonders auf ndl. *baard* (sic!) als Deichbauterminus 'ein aus mehreren Lagen Reisig bestehendes Gefüge'" verweist!

Und vor allem: den nicht zahlreichen Bildungen mit Präverb, die in der Regel Abstraktes bezeichnen, des Derivationstyps *-tis*, *-ties* steht eine ansehnliche Menge Simplicia mit konkreter Bedeutung gegenüber (Otrębski § 403) und somit ist ein Ansatz eines Konkretums urbalt. **spartis* völlig gerechtfertigt.

Der Vollständigkeit halber schließlich zwei Sachgruppen, in denen eine bemerkenswerte Abweichung zu konstatieren ist, die im letzten Fall aber gewissermaßen voraussagbar ist: Eine naheliegende Interpretation des baltisch-ostseefinnischen Befundes ist die folgende von Ulla-Maija Kulonen: "The oldest (proto-)Baltic and (proto-)Germanic loanwords mainly relate to nature. Particularly interesting in this sense are the sea-related words derived from the Baltic branch, *meri* (sea) itself and the fish-names *lohi* (salmon) and *ankerias* (eel). These words at least seem to imply that the Proto-Finns, or more accurately the Finno-Ugrian peoples, had never lived by a salt sea before coming into contact with the Baltic peoples". Zuvor hatte schon Napolskikh auf diesen Tatbestand verwiesen (41f.). Sein Beitrag enthält auch eine Karte, in der die Grenze des Einzugsgebietes des Lachses verzeichnet ist. Östlich bzw. südlich davon darf man die Urheimat des Ostseefinnischen vermuten.

Ein weiteres Problem stellt die Schichtung des Lehnsgutes dar. Bei den Baltismen des Ostseefinnischen finden sich allerdings kaum sprachliche Kriterien, die auf unterschiedliche Zeitpunkte weisen würden. Auch die sporadische Vertretung des baltischen kurzen *a* durch ostseefinnisches *o* dürfte eher diatopisch als diachronisch zu erklären sein. Hier muß aber auf eine ältere These eingegangen werden, die jahrzehntelang einen Dornröschenschlaf gehalten hat. Die Reflexe der baltischen Kontinuanten der urindogermanischen silbischen Resonanten in urbaltischen Lehnwörtern des Ostseefinnischen entsprechen i.a. den Erwartungen, d.h. im Normalfall *i* plus Liquida oder Nasal, in einigen wenigen Fällen *u* und der entsprechende Konsonant: fi. *silta* 'Brücke' (lit. *tiltas*), fi. *villa* 'Wolle' (lit. *vilna*), fi. *lunka* 'Löslichkeit der Rinde von einem frischen wachsenden Baum' (lit. *lunkas*), fi. *virpi* 'Zweig, Gerte, Stange, Rebe' (lit. *virbas*), fi. *kurpponen* 'Art Schuh' (lit. *kurpė*), fi. *kurko*, *kurki* 'ein böser Geist, Teufel' (apr. *curche*, *churco* 'Erntegott der heidnischen Preußen'). In einigen Fällen findet sich indessen statt des zu erwartenden *i* ein tieferer Vordervokal: fi. *herne* 'Erbse' (vgl. lit. *žirnis*), fi. *herhiläinen* 'Hummel' (lit. *širšuõ* usw.), fi. *härkä* 'Ochse' (lit. *žirgas* 'Pferd'). Collinder hat in den betreffenden Fällen den nachgerade aberwitzigen Gedanken geäußert, daß hier noch Reflexe von silbischem *r* bzw. Verbindungen von Schwa und *r* vorlägen. Die indogermanischen Einzel-

sprachen bzw. Sprachzweige weisen ganz verschiedene Reflexe der urindogermanischen silbischen Liquiden und Nasale auf, im Germanischen zeitigt die Vokalentfaltung neben dem Resonant ein *u*: ahd. *hund*, man vgl. damit lat. *centum*, griech. *hekatón*, andererseits griech. *brotos* ‘sterblich bzw. Sterblicher = Mensch’ mit arm. *mard* ‘Mensch’. Baltisch und Slawisch haben als Normalvertretung *i* plus Resonant – hier einmal in Übereinstimmung mit dem Keltischen –, und nicht nur das, sondern weisen beide weitgehend in den gleichen Lexemen Entgleisungen mit *u* für *i* auf. Diese mag zwar in einigen Fällen kontextbedingt sein, die Bedingung ist aber nicht hinreichend, und die weitgehende Identität, was die Entgleisungen betrifft, ist ein zusätzliches untrügliches Indiz, daß es sich hier um einen gemeinsamen Zug handelt, wobei es für den vorliegenden Zusammenhang belanglos ist, ob die Gemeinsamkeit auf dem Umstand der Existenz einer baltoslawischen Grundsprache beruht, oder ob es sich wie einige meinen, bei den zahlreichen baltischen und slawischen Isoglossen um areallinguistisch zu erklärende gemeinsame Neuerungen handelt. Ostseefinnische Reflexe silbischer Resonanten in Lehnwörtern, die mit baltischem Material erklärt werden können, wären mithin, so sie ein *e* oder *ä* für *i* aufweisen, noch in baltoslawischer Zeit entlehnt, spiegelten aber schon den typisch baltischen Reflex der urindogermanischen palatalen Tektale wider (*herne* ‘Erbse’ – lit. *žirnis*!), ostseefi. *h* müßte dann also ein Reflex von palatalem *s* sein.

Es wäre überdies höchst eigentümlich, daß nur Entlehnungen mit silbischem *r* des Vorbaltischen, aber keine mit silbischem *l* oder Nasal vorliegen würden (s. die eingangs genannten Belege). Die einzigen prinzipiell möglichen Belege für *l* weisen wiederum ein anlautendes *k* bzw. *h* auf: fi. *kelle* ‘Kartoffel-, oder Rübenscheibe’ u.ä. (vgl. lit. *skiltis*) – eine von SSA in Frage gestellte Etymologie – und *helle* ‘schwül; Hitze’ (lit. *šiltis*) – eine Zusammenstellung, die von Kalima mit einem Fragezeichen bedacht wird, von SSA jedoch gebilligt wird. Ebenso spricht dagegen, daß die Belege nur die Fälle mit baltischem palatalen Reflex der urindogermanischen silbischen Tremulans betreffen. Es gibt mithin keinen Grund sich von der 1993 gemachten Beobachtung zu distanzieren, daß in den bewußten Fällen ein *r* nach dem regelwidrigen Vokal und dazu ein *h* oder *k* davor, also am Wortanlaut zur Bedingung haben – zur notwendigen Bedingung (zu *kirves* und *hirvi* vgl. Ritter 1998). Ein Wechsel *ir* > *er* hat auch im übrigen auch im Wepsischen stattgefunden, worauf schon Kalima hingewiesen hat. Die Beispiele weisen alle ein *r* in gedeckter Stellung auf. Im Klartext würde der Vorschlag im übrigen bedeuten, daß sich die Ostseefinnen in der Jungsteinzeit oder frühen Bronzezeit schon eine Erbsensuppe nach späturindogermanischem/balto-slawischem Rezept kochen konnten, das nötige Kleinholz dazu aber erst beiläufig 1000 Jahre später mit einer Axt baltischer Bauart schlagen konnten!

Der Vorschlag Collinders erschien Kalima offensichtlich so abwegig, daß er für den Collinderschen Gedanken nichts mehr als die Erwähnung in Form einer Fußnote (vgl. Kalima 70, Anm.) übrig hatte und ist auch von der Avantgarde der germanisch bzw. baltisch-ostseefinnischen nicht aufgegriffen worden – bis zu seiner kritischen Behandlung 1993 und feiert nun bei Koivulehto fröhliche Urständ!

Die türkischen und vor allem die iranischen Elemente des Ungarischen sind nun aber sehr stark geschichtet und man muß sich für den vorliegenden Zusammenhang auf die Lehnwörter wolgabilgarischen, alttschuwaschischen Gepräges bzw. für das Iranische auf das urossetische oder alanische Lehngut beschränken. Im Einzelfall ist freilich eine zwingende Zuweisung nicht möglich, und in einigen Fällen muß mit türkischer Vermittlung eines Iranismus gerechnet werden, allein schon deswegen ist es nicht angebracht, das Türkische allein mit dem Baltischen zu parallelisieren, es könnte einem ein Turkismus letztlich iranischer Provenienz entgehen. Die zeitliche Differenz ist hier ohnehin unbedeutend.

Den germanischen Elementen des Ostseefinnischen hingegen lassen sowohl, was den Stellenwert der Entlehnungen anlangt, als auch ihre Anzahl, besonders, wenn man die finnischen Forschungen der letzten Jahrzehnte in Rechnung setzen würde, sich auf ungarischer Seite die slawischen, mit überwiegender Mehrheit im Karpatenbecken entlehnten Elemente an die Seite stellen (Sachgruppen nach Hofstra):

- a) 1. **Anbaufläche:** *ugar* 'Brachfeld', *parlag* 'wüster Acker'.
2. **Geräte:** *csoroszllya* 'Vorschneidemesser am Pflug', *borona* 'Egge', *öszölke* 'Pflugreute', *kasza* 'Sense'.
3. **Düngemittel:** *ganaj* 'Dünger, Düngerhaufen'.
4. **Nutzpflanzen:** *rozs* 'Roggen', *zab* 'Hafer', *hajdina* 'Buchweizen'.
5. **Unkräuter:** *konkoly* 'Lolch', *laboda* 'Melde'.
6. **Getreide auf dem Feld:** *gabona* 'Getreide'.
7. **Spreu, Hülsen, Stroh:** *szalma* 'Stroh', *polyva* 'Spreu', *kalász* 'Ähre, Granne'.
8. **Verarbeitung des Getreides, z.B. zu Bier oder Brot:** *kalács* 'Kuchengebrot', *maláta* 'Malz', *tészta* 'Teig', *kovász* 'Sauerteig'.
- b) 1. **Einzeltiere:** *birka* 'Schaf', *bárány* 'Lamm', *kakas* 'Hahn', *jérce* 'Henne'.
2. **Herden:** *csorda* 'Herde'.
3. **Gehege, Ställe, Stricke zum Anbinden des Viehs:** *pajta* 'Stall', *akol* 'Schafstall'.
4. **Wildwachsende Pflanzen, die als Viehfutter verwendet werden konnten:** *aszat* 'Distel', *szittyó* 'Binse'.

5. **Futtermgewinnung und -aufbewahrung:** *jászol* 'Krippe', *asztag* 'Heuschober', *kazal* 'Heuhaufen, -schober', *kalangya* 'Heu-, Getreidehaufen'.

6. **Produkte der Viehzucht:** *szalonna* 'Speck', *zsír* 'Fett'.

- c) 1. **Verwandtschaft:** *család* 'Familie', *mostoha* 'Stiefmutter', *koma* 'Gevatter', *dajka* 'Amme', *déd* 'Ahn', *unoka* 'Enkel' (dial. 'Neffe') u.a., ferner *kurva* 'Hure', *parázna* 'Hure; ehebrecherisch'.
2. **Gruppen:** *csata* 'Schar, Truppe'.
3. **Macht, Gewalt und Verwaltung:** *szolga* 'Diener', *rab* 'Sklave', *parancs(ol)* 'Befehl(en)', *vajda* 'dux, princeps'.

Alle diese Sachgruppen sind mit zahlreichen einschlägigen Lexemen unter den germanischen Elementen vertreten (s. – mit Einschränkungen – das Material bei Hofstra).

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Marek STACHOWSKI (Kraków)

**ON THE PROBLEM OF ORIENTAL ETYMOLOGIES OF
POLISH *ogar* AND HUNGARIAN *agár* 'HOUND'¹**

1.

There exists quite considerable literature on the word *ogar* 'hound; Brakke', which occurs not only in Polish but also in other Slavic languages, as well as in Hungarian. Although it has already drawn the attention of many scholars, mainly representing the Slavic, Hungarian or Turkic philology, its origin has not yet been sufficiently cleared up and no study has yet come into being which would more or less systematically order the numerous opinions found in various etymological works. Our task is thus first of all to review the existing ideas and to analyze the conclusions.

2.

To begin with, the formulation "etymology unknown" or "etymology doubtful" means in the case of this word not only that its origin and morphological structure are unknown but also that there is no certitude as to which language it should be derived from. Most often the following types of etymological explanation can be found:

- (2.1) *ogar* is a native Slavic word, borrowed into Hungarian;
- (2.2) *ogar* is a loanword into Slavic languages from Hungarian but it is not a Hungarian native word;
- (2.3) *ogar* is eventually a Turkic word;
- (2.4) *ogar* is eventually a Caucasian word but was transferred to Europe by Turkic languages;

¹ This is a slightly modified English translation of our lecture delivered during the Tadeusz Lewicki Symposium (Cracow, 17 November 1993, Instytut Filologii Orientalnej UJ) and first published in Polish in the journal *Studia z filologii polskiej i słowiańskiej* 32 (1995): 103-120.

(2.5) *ogar* has come into being by contamination of an Oriental word with some word or prefix in a Slavic language or in Hungarian.

Actually none of the ideas is strong enough to exclude all the other etymological proposals on the one hand, and to solve all the problems involved on the other.

3.

We believe that many authors underestimate the significance of the geography and chronology of the word, whereas it is exceedingly important that the word is not attested in the Eastern Slavic languages. In Russian, the word *огарь* ‘гончая или борзая собака’ is attested though, but in a work devoted to mutual Polish-Russian contacts (*Памятники дипломатических сношений Московского государства с Польско-Литовским государством*, т. 1 [1487-1533], Ст. Петербург 1892; quoted after SRJ 12:232), so that it is probably a Polish loanword into Russian.

The lack of the word *ogar* in the Eastern Slavic languages is of quite considerable importance because of at least two reasons:

(3.1) it weakens somewhat the probability of a native etymology;

(3.2) it questions the Turkic etymology (at least in its traditional shape), since the oldest Turkic borrowings have penetrated into Polish through Eastern Slavic.

At the same time the presence of the word in Hungarian and in the Southern Slavic languages seems to suggest that it has come to Polish from the south.

4.

Zoltán Gombocz, in his 1912 monograph, derived the Hungarian **agár* id. directly from the Old Bulgarian **agar* (= Modern Chuvash *aGar*) and referred thus to real forms such as Teleut *äñär* ‘Jagdhund, Hühnerhund’, Baraba *igär* id., Kumandin *eger* ‘Hund’, Kirghiz *igär* id. (Gomb. 35, no. 2), but he did not clarify in a more precise manner the relation of those words to the Slavic *ogar*. The above data, repeated also in Zaj. 150 and Tryj. 310, are necessarily to be completed by the data from Caucasian-Turkic languages, such as Karachai-Balkar and Kumyk *ägär* ‘борзая, гончая собака’.

From the Turcological point of view, not everything is readily understandable here. Since Chuvash *a* is secondary and corresponds to Standard Turkic *ä* (whereas the original *a* has become *o ~ u* in Chuvash), it would be most conven-

ient to assume an original form in the shape of **äṇār* (? ~ **eṇār*) ~ **ägär* (? ~ **egär*).

But the etymology of such a form on the Turkic ground is not quite clear. Its relationship to **äg-* 'to bend, to bow' is not only semantically doubtful (**'bent-backed dog'?*) but also morphologically unacceptable, since **-är* as a Part. Aor. suffix produces, with transitive stems, active (**'bending, one that bends'*) and not passive (**'bent'*) formations. Much clearer, from the semantic point of view, would be the form **aṇar* 'hunting'. But this one, too, is to be rejected for phonetical reasons: the shift of velar *a* to palatal *ä* in the vicinity of velar *ṇ* is actually out of the question.

Also P. B. Golden, a historian and the author of the newest Turcological study on names of dogs, is in this case completely helpless. He only supplies the Kipch. *ägär* ~ *äṇār* with question marks, quotes some earlier literature and compares (equally with a question mark) *ägär* with the verb *egä-* 'to sharpen' (Gold. 49), attested by Maḥmūd Kāšgarī (11th c.). This is quite impossible, if only for semantic reasons, not to mention the difficulties involved in explaining the velar *ṇ* of the Teleut and Kipchak forms.

The rise, on the Hungarian ground, of the meaning 'slender, slim' (cf. § 5) seems to suggest that (at least at the beginning) no exact difference was made between 'greyhound' and 'hound; Bracke', since it is greyhound that is a perfect example of slenderness, whereas (blood)hounds are dogs of actually quite powerful build and definitely not slender. If it was so indeed, the meaning **'bent-backed dog'* (at least relating to 'greyhound') would not be so unreal.

An etymologist, however, will be surprised to see that E. Frankiewicz in his article entitled *Polskie nazwy ras psów oraz pochodzenie niektórych nazw*, published in a cynological magazine *Pies* (here quoted after Les. 8, where no further bibliographical data are included), informs that the Hungarian equivalent of Polish *ogar* is not *agár*, but *vizsla*, actually 'pointer': "[...] Czech *ohař*, like Hungarian *vizsla*, German *die Bracke*, French *le braque* or English *the hound* meant formerly a hunting dog used to trail game."² It is hard to believe that a cynological magazine does not notice the difference between *vizsla* and *agár*.

Another manifest fact is that the word occurs in Siberian and Caucasian Turkic languages, as well as in Kirghiz and Chuvash. Such a geographical distribution, quite untypical of a native word, compels us to take the possibility of borrowing seriously. Since the ancestors of the modern Chuvash have, in their way from the east to the west, passed through the territories north to Caucasus, they could possibly have borrowed the word at that time. It might have been a loan from Cherkess, cf. Cherkess *hager* 'hound' (Vasmer III 117 s.v. *ozapb*;

² "Czeskie bowiem *ohař*, podobnie jak węgierskie *vizsla*, niemieckie *die Bracke*, francuskie *le braque* lub angielskie *the hound* dawniej oznaczało psa myśliwskiego używanego do tropienia zwierzyny." (quoted after Les. 8).

EWU 19; Machek 410 even considers the etymology to be sure). We are not able to determine whether *hager* has anything to do with Cherkess *he* ‘dog’ (ESA 115).

Caucasian borrowings into the Turkic languages are not yet well examined, maybe with the exception of somewhat better known Dagestani-Turkic contacts. Nurislam S. Džidalaev, who has devoted a series of papers to the subject, mentions among many other Dagestani borrowings into Kumyk a dialectal word *äjir* ‘hunting’ (Džid. 313). We cannot determine whether its phonetic and semantic similarity to the word *ägär* ‘hound’ is or is not purely accidental. Further investigation into Caucasian-Turkic contacts will certainly supply us with more words which have been borrowed more than once. For instance, the very same author reconstructs in one of his articles the long way of the word *čanka*, repeatedly borrowed into and from the Turkic languages: Russian *чанка* (> Karachai-Balkar *čanka*) = Noghai *šanka* ‘ruler’s child produced in a marriage with a woman from lower class’ < Kumyk *čanka* ‘member of the ruler’s house; well-born’ < Dagestani languages < ? Old Bulgarian < Chinese (DžidAjt. 71, 81, 83 + footnotes 56, 88f., 93f.).

It is harder to explain, through which channels a Cherkess word could have penetrated into Siberia. Still rather modestly developed research into the Turkic languages of Siberia does not yet enable us to make categorical statements. The possibility that the Kirghiz language has delivered a Cherkess word down to Siberia, though not certain, is not totally unrealistic. But for chronological reasons it would have to be a borrowing separate from Chuvash, and a much later one.

Some etymological works (e.g. Munk. 130; HK 252) propose as the etymon rather the Ossetic word *jegar* ~ *egar* ~ *igar* ‘greyhound’, in which B. Munkácsi (op. cit.) simultaneously sees a borrowing from Avar *egër* ‘Jagdhund’ and the source of Turkic *ägär*, &c., whereas Abaev 411 rather believes the Ossetic word to be a borrowing from Turkic.

Relations between the variants of this word in the Caucasian languages are relatively imprecisely settled so far. Consequently, we can find both statements accepting the Caucasian origin of the word *ogar* without reservation, and its utter negation, e.g. Kniezsa: “But [the Hungarian word] under no circumstances originates from Ossetic *igar*, Avar *eger* and so on. These words come from the above mentioned Turkic word.”³; TESz: “The Caucasian etymology is erroneous”.⁴ It has to be emphasized that both works treat only Hungarian *agár* and thus these formulations cannot be mechanically applied to Turkic *ägär*. We must not exclude that Turkic *ägär* on the one hand, and Slavic *ogar* and Hun-

³ “Semmiesetre sem származik azonban az osztét *igar*, avar *eger* stb. szóból [...]. E szavak különben a fenti török szóból valók.” (Kniezsa 585).

⁴ “Kaukázusi származtatása téves” (TESz I 101).

garian *agár* on the other, have nothing in common, as far as their etymology is concerned. Besides, both authors limit themselves to rejecting the Caucasian etymology and propose no counterarguments. Thus, if we accepted in spite of both opinions the Cherkess etymology, we would have to deal with quite a long journey of the word to Europe (see scheme 1).

To sum up: A direct borrowing of the word *ogar* from the Turkic languages into Slavic is quite impossible (its lack in the Eastern Slavic languages; the discrepancies in vocalism); however, a possibility of an indirect borrowing cannot be completely rejected. And still there exists another argument, and an extralinguistic one, against the direct borrowing of the word from Turkic into Slavic: it is hard to assume that Turkic peoples, mainly famous thanks to shepherding, would deliver their own hunting-cynological term. Let us mention by the way that e.g. the Oghuz languages know only one specific term for a hunting dog: *tāzy* (on the Arabic origin of which, see Gold. 53; actually, Ottoman and Arabic < Persian). Vasmer III 117 remarks that no other examples of Cherkess loanwords into the Slavic languages are known, but this is a weak argument, especially if we take into account a possible Turkic mediation.

5.

We have already mentioned that *ogar* as a name for a dog breed is actually unknown in Russian. Vasmer III 117 tries to connect the Old Russian word *огапь* 'type of a ship' with *ogar* 'hunting dog', otherwise unknown in Eastern Slavic, believing that the role of *tertium comparationis* could have been played by rapidity ("быстроходность"). Indeed, the occurrence of a new meaning of the word *ogar* is already known to us from Hungarian, where next to 'hunting dog' there also exists the meaning of 'slender, slim'. But in the case of Russian *огапь*, it should probably be rather considered whether it is not *ogorēti* that is the base of this word, since skillful burning was among many a people a common method of hardening wood. Another conceivable possibility would be connecting Russian *огапь* with burning wood logs, but in this case the prefix *vy-* (**vygorēti*, **vygarb*) should rather be expected.

6.

It is hard to accept attempts at connecting the Polish word *ogar* 'Bracke', Cz. *ohař* id. and Hungarian *agár* id. with Slavic *chart* 'greyhound' and Finnish *koira* 'dog' (HK 252, where, by the way, Finnish *koira* is given the meaning of 'greyhound'). UEW 168f. compares the Finnish word *koira* 'Hund' with Hun-

garian *here* 'Hode', Zyrian *kjr* 'männlicher Hund' and so on, and derives it from Uralic **koj(e)-ra* 'Männchen'.

7.

Let us examine more closely the conception of the Slavic origin of the word *ogar*. According to Brückner 375, this word belongs to Polish *gorzenie* 'burning' because the colour of hounds which were imported in the past was mainly blackish-brown.

The collision between the nativity of the name for the dog and the foreign origin of the dog itself is manifest in this explanation. Kazimierz Moszyński, too, has noticed the fact that "(blood)hounds seem to be quite a late acquisition to Slavs" and called the problem of the etymology of the word *ogar* a knot so far untied (Mosz. 135). Although already F. Miklosich reconstructed, on the basis of the Slavic forms, the form *ogarŭ* (EWMikl. 220), his conception should rather be treated with highest caution, since (a) this dog breed is foreign among Slavs, and (b) the probability of such an old desuffixation is relatively little. But it has to be added that about twenty years before that, Miklosich himself compared the Slavic word with Albanian *zagar* (Mikl. 487).

The Slavic character of the word is not supported by chronology, either: for Polish it is attested in 1398 (SłStp 526b) and likewise in Czech it is known since the 14th c. (SčS 291), whereas in Hungarian it might have been known much earlier: although as an appellative it is, similarly to Polish and Czech, attested as late as 1395, it already occurs as a place name in a record from 1193 (TESz I 101).

The above mentioned Old Church Slavic form *ogarъ* is, however, deceitful, since it is actually not an Old, but a Serbo-Church Slavic form, which, by the way, supposedly did not exist until the 16th c. (Skok 547).

Another difficulty involved in the Slavic etymology of *ogar* is its former Polish form: *ogarz*. Possibly, it is a result of an influence of the Czech *ohař*, which would be a precious indication as to the direction of borrowing of the word.

It is noteworthy that E. Frankiewicz, in the above mentioned study of his, expresses his objections concerning the possible relationship of *ogar* to *gorěti*, setting forth two counterarguments:

- (7.1) In Polish, that type of dog's fur colour was called *podżary*, rather than *ogorzaly* and the like [we do not consider this argument to be especially significant because the author does not date the word *podżary*];
- (7.2) "Omitting the fur colour of Polish hunting dogs in the description of their appearance in professional literature during the forming period of the

Polish indigenous variety of this breed",⁵ too, speaks against deriving the name *ogar* from the colour of the fur [unlike (1), this argument seems to be in point of fact important since it is really hard to believe that the name of a breed was coined from an omitted feature, i.e. one unimportant to breeders].

8.

As to the mutual relationship between Western Slavic *ogar* ~ *ohař* and Hungarian *agár* we first of all lack a clear criterion which would allow us to determine what the direction of the borrowing was. The modern Hungarian etymological dictionary emphasizes that among various Hungarian names for dogs and terms relevant to dog-breeding, there are also Slavic words such as *hort* 'greyhound', *szelindek* 'mastiff', *pecér* 'dog-catcher',⁶ or *póráz* 'leash' (TESz I 101). But on the other hand, Polish *wyżeł* 'pointer' seems to be a loanword from Hungarian *vizsla* id. (Mosz. 135; TESz III 1169f.), and cynologists share the opinion that pointer is a Hungarian dog, too. Cf. their opinion on the origin of the *magyar vizsla*:

The *magyar vizsla* has been formed from several breeds. In the 9th c., Hungarians brought to the Carpathians a new breed of hunting dogs. They were then crossed with local breeds. Out of them Hungarian hunters bred dogs trained to hunt with falcons. In the 15th and 16th c. (during the Turkish rule in Hungary) they were crossed with Turkic dogs.⁷

Also from the phonetic point of view both directions of borrowing are admissible: Hungarian labialized *ǎ* might as well be the source of Slavic *o* (Gomb. 198) as its reflex in Slavic borrowings (Hel. 352 and the schemes on p. 353).

⁵ "[...] pomijanie maści naszych psów gończych w opisie ich wyglądu w literaturze fachowej pochodzącej z okresu tworzenia się naszej rodzimej odmiany tych psów myśliwskich" (quoted after Les. 8).

⁶ On Hungarian *pecér* < Slavic **pъsarjъ*, cf. Hel. 354.

⁷ "Wyżeł węgierski został wytworzony z kilku ras. W IX w. Węgrzy przywieźli do kotła karpackiego rasę psów szperaczy. Psy te zostały skrzyżowane z miejscowymi rasami psów myśliwskich. Z nich węgierscy myśliwi wyhodowali psy, których używano do polowania z sokołami, tzw. psy sokolników. W XV i XVI w. (w okresie rządów Turków na Węgrzech) skrzyżowano je z żółtymi psami tureckimi." (NajHum 116).

9.

O. Trubačev takes no explicit attitude. He admits the foreign origin of *ogar* but does not embark upon the discussion and, as the source of the word, he mentions in the same breath Cherkess *hager*, Turkic *ägär*, Hungarian *agár* and Ossetic *jegar* (which, as we can see, is not too much of a precise information). At the same time, he allows the possibility of a secondary association on the Slavic ground, of the borrowed word with the native *gorěti* and its derivatives, arguing like Brückner that it is the colour of dog's fur that is the point.

Quite astonishing is the idea of István Kniezsa's, according to which the adherents of the connection between the name *ogar* and the verb *gorěti* might have meant that (blood)hounds' fat was used for burning. With that sort of interpretation, we cannot be surprised that Kniezsa does not take such an explanation seriously (Kniezsa 584).

Thus, we reach another type of etymology of the word *ogar*: a contamination of two elements of different origin.

Already in 1873, a Hungarian reviewer of F. Miklosich's work on Slavic elements in Modern Greek, Antal Edelsbacher proposed a connection between *ogar* and the Oriental word *zagar* 'big dog; hunting dog' believing Hungarian to be the intermediary language. On the basis of combinations of a noun with an article that are quite usual in Hungarian, he suggested that the Hungarian word *agár* came into being as the result of a metanalysis: *a zagár* > *az agár* (Ed. 341). Such an explanation was not accepted though (Kniezsa 585), and as a matter of fact, it sank into oblivion. Its weak point is chronology. The word *zagár* itself does not actually exist in Hungarian (except for the later [borrowed from Ottoman-Turkish] derivative *zagarčy*, in: *zagarcsi passa* [1693] < Ottoman *zagarçy başy* 'chef des gardiens des limiers du sultan' [Kak. 427]). In Ottoman, from which it should have penetrated into Hungarian, it is only attested from the 16th c. on (but cf. also § 10), whereas in Hungarian *agár* is at least known since the 14th, if not the 12th c. (cf. § 7 and 10).

Another type of contamination is assumed by P. Skok in his dictionary. He rather considers the Serbian dialectal form *obgar* (which occurs beside the dialectal *ogar*) and its literary equivalent *obgara* to be eventually borrowings of Ottoman *zagar* 'greyhound', contaminated with dialectal (e.g. Montenegrin) *bigår* 'little dog', *bīgàra* 'bitch' (Skok 547). This, indeed, could be an explanation of -b- in *obgar(a)* but since the initial o- is still not sufficiently cleared up, the whole interpretation could at most be regarded as half-satisfactory.

An equally considerable possibility is the contamination of the word *zagar*. After the Slavs had borrowed the word *zagar* from the Ottoman Turks, they could have explained it to themselves as related to the verb *gorěti*. In such case the initial *za-*, associated with the Slavic prefix *za-*, could have been found odd

and therefore replaced by a semantically motivated prefix *o-* or *ob-*. The advantage of such an explanation is that it clears up the anlaut of both Serbian forms, and from the point of view of the Slavic and Hungarian philologies, it lets us explain the origin of the word *ogar* in a way which enables building an incessant chain from Anatolia to Poland [see schemes 2 and 3, where two possible channels of borrowing of the word *zagar* ~ *ogar* are shown; in this context, it will be relevant to quote I. Kniezsa’s opinion on the Western Slavic origin of Hungarian *agár*: “Thus, the source of the Hungarian word remains uncertain, though it seems probable that it was a borrowing from Western Slavic (through the Czech or Polish or maybe Slovak court?). The opposite direction is also possible (from Hungarian into Czech, Polish) but not probable in such an early period”⁸].

It is chronology that is the weak point of the above mentioned explanation. In Ottoman, the word *zagar* is foreign, too, and does not seem to occur in sources until the 16th c., whereas Slavic *ogar* is already attested in the 14th, and in Hungarian possibly in the 12th c. (but cf. § 10).

10.

This paper is actually not the place for a more detailed examination of the etymology of the word *zagar* and thus we are going to content ourselves with a few small remarks.

The word *zagar*, like *ogar*, has much inconvenienced the etymologists. But at present the opinion on its origin is, in outline, settled, though e.g. in EWU I 9 we find a proposition otherwise unknown: *zagar* is a composition of Cherkess *zy* ‘ein’ + *hager* ‘Jagdhund’.

For the time being, the Caucasian etymology seems to be the most probable. It connects Ottoman *zagar* with Cartvelian **ǰayl*+ ‘dog’ > Georgian *ǰayl*+, Svan *ǰay*+ ~ *ǰey*+. However, it does not eliminate all the phonetic doubts (ISv. 337). The closest to the Ottoman form are: Megrel *ǰoyor*+ and Chan *ǰoyo(r)*+ ‘dog’, but they both have *-o-* in place of *-a-*. In the process of borrowing, the Caucasian *o-o* sequence would have to be changed into *o-a* since the Ottoman language actually does not permit an *o* in non-first syllables. *ǰ-* only rarely, but does occur in the Turkic onset, and hence out of the form *ǰoyor*+, some **ǰogar* (or even **ǰugar* since *o* is rare even in the first syllable, especially in polysyllabic words) would have to be expected on the Turkic ground. Since

⁸ “A magyar szó eredete egyelőre bizonytalan, bár a nyugati-szlávból (a cseh vagy lengyel udvarból, vagy pedig szlovák?) való átvétel valószínű. Fordítva ugyanis (a magyarból a csehbe, lengyelbe) lehetséges ugyan, de ilyen korán valószínűtlen.” (Kniezsa 585).

V. M. Illič-Svityč knew these difficulties, he assumed that the etymon of the Ottoman word was the form **žayar*+, which, however, from the point of view of the Caucasian phonetics is not quite perfect (ISv. 337; Kl. 236; St. 93).

Hence, it would probably be better to assume a different channel of borrowing, i.e. not directly from the Caucasian languages into Ottoman-Turkish, and then into Greek and the Balkan Slavic languages, but rather: Caucasian *žoyor*+ > Greek *ζαγάρι* > Ottoman *zagar* > Slavic (or even: Greek or Ottoman > Hungarian > Slavic).

This proposition not only seems to be phonetically more probable, but has also a chronological advantage. It lets us assume that the Seljuk Turks, at the very latest, learned Gr. *ζαγάρι* at the end of the 11th c., when – after the victorious battle of Malazgirt (26 August 1071) under the command of Alp Arslan – Anatolia became wide open to them. This would mean for us that there exists a realistic possibility of moving back the dating of the word *zagar* in Turkic towards, say, the turn of the 12th c. Simultaneously, the chronological collision between the earliest record of *zagar* in Ottoman (16th c.) and in the Slavic languages (14th c.) becomes eliminated. But let us recall that there exists a notation from the 12th c., of a Hungarian place name. TESz I 101 actually quotes it with a question mark, nevertheless this testimony must not be ignored. It is not easily explicable as it is scarcely possible to assume that the word *zagar* had penetrated so quickly from Anatolia to Hungary, and that its form had already been changed into *agár* at that time. Possibly, it would be a good solution to accept the borrowing's way through Greek, and the metanalysis proposed by A. Edelspacher (see § 9). Then, we would have to assume that Greek *ζαγάρι* had penetrated into Hungarian, where it was changed into *az agár* (< *a zagár*) and wherefrom it was, later on, borrowed into the Slavic languages as *ogar* (< *agár*). A somewhat obscure element of this variant is the way of the direct penetration from Greek into Hungarian.

Let us only mention as a side-note that, according also to cynologists, hounds were imported to Europe between the 11th and 13th c. from Asia Minor (Les. 9).

The above proposed solution actually questions the inevitable necessity of assuming an Ottoman mediation for the Slavic languages. It might have been Greek *ζαγάρι* that was directly borrowed by the Slavs and then changed into *ogar* (see scheme 4), whereas the word *zagar*, well known in the Balkans, would have been a later (and repeated) borrowing but from the Ottoman Turks (see scheme 5).

B. Munkácsi saw the question in a slightly different manner. He decidedly separated Hungarian *agár* (so probably Slavic *ogar*, too) from *zagar* 'hound':

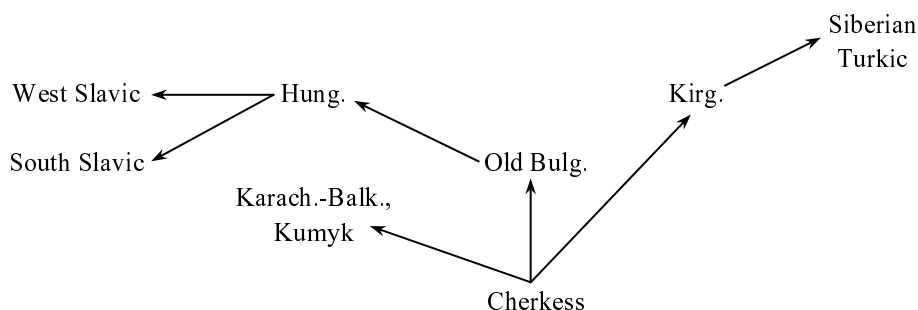
“Mit dem Worte *zagar* ‘Jagdhund’ der balkanischen Sprachen jedoch steht das magy. *agár* in keinem Zusammenhange, denn jene stammen unmittelbar aus dem griechischen [= Gr-] (*ζαγάρι*, *ζαγάρος*, *ζαγάριον*), diese hingegen aus dem Kreise der kaukasischen Sprachen (vgl. laz. *žogor*, mingrel. *žogori*, grus. *zaghl*, ingiloi *zaghl* ‘Hund’ [...])” (Munk. 130).

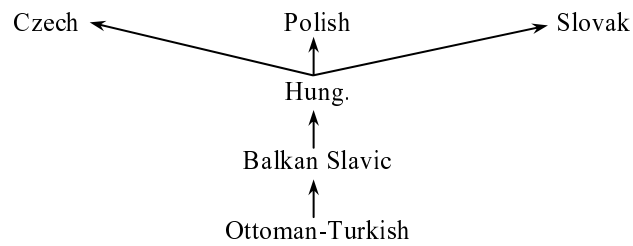
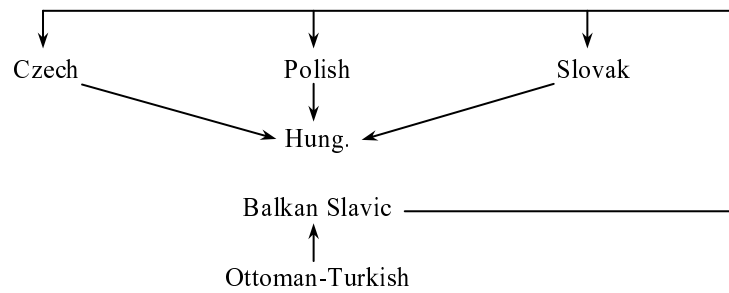
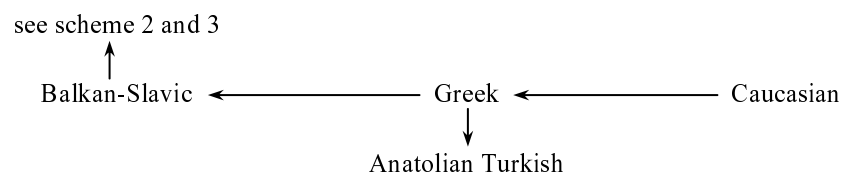
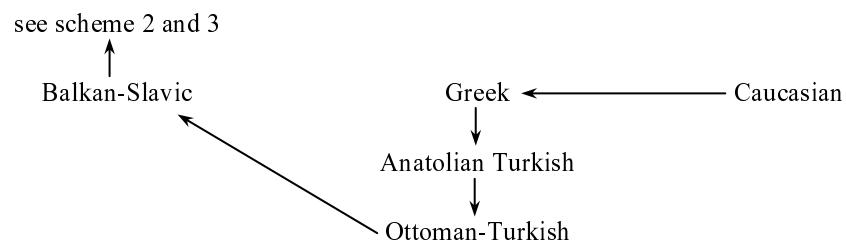
Another complex of problems is the relationship between Caucasian *žogor* and some semantically and phonetically similar words from the Mediterranean languages, as e.g. Basque *zakur* ‘perro grande’ and *tšakur* ‘perro pequeño’, Sardinian *džágaru* ‘cane de caccia’, Corsican *ghjácaru* ~ *ghjágaru* ‘cane mastino, cane da pastori’ (ThP II 143, no. 61). Usually, these and the like forms are mentioned among equivalents of Ottoman *zagar*. However, J. Hubschmid (ThP, l. c.), noticing the different anlaut, states that the Basque forms need not necessarily have anything in common with the Sardinian and Corsican word, though it cannot wholly be excluded.

Since, at the same time, P. Skok presents an opinion, supposedly first expressed by K. Oštir, that we are in fact dealing with an old hunting-term, possibly belonging to the Pre-Indo-European substrate of the Balkans (Skok 547), we are compelled to leave to Romanists and Mediterraneanists the settlement of the question of the mutual relationships between the Mediterranean forms. Without that, a precise explanation of the relationships between these words on the one hand, and the words *zagar* and *ogar* on the other, is impossible.

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Scheme 1:



Scheme 2:**Scheme 3:****Scheme 4:****Scheme 5:**

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LES DIVERS NOMS DE «MONTMARTRE» AU MOYEN AGE

Endroit très connu, centre du milieu artiste, dont la célébrité dépasse quelque peu la période des cent dernières années, la colline de Montmartre ne fut pas toujours telle depuis ses origines. Au contraire, il faut la considérer comme théâtre d'événements dramatiques, très importants pour l'histoire de la France et de son Eglise, et au Moyen Age, on la connaissait sous des noms divers dans lesquels se reflétait ce passé.

C'est en établissant l'édition de la mise en prose de *Berte as grans piés* d'Adenet le Roi, composée dans la 2^e moitié du XV^e siècle par un auteur anonyme,¹ que j'ai été inspiré à faire cette recherche. Les noms de Montmartre, du point de vue de leur diversité, n'y sont pas très nombreux, et (chose curieuse) la forme contemporaine n'y apparaît pas. On y trouve, par contre, 7 fois la forme *Montmartir* (et 1 fois avec la graphie coupée: *Mont Martir*), 1 fois *Monlmtmartir* et 1 fois *Montmartirer*, ce qui donne en somme 10 apparitions. C'est le lieu d'exil d'Aliste, mauvaise compagne de la reine Berthe et fille de la servante Margiste, coupable, avec sa mère, d'avoir trahi la jeune reine la nuit de ses noces.

D'autres textes médiévaux nous transmettent aussi quelques formes intéressantes²:

– Monmarte (*Les Merveilles de Rigomer*)³;

¹ *Histoire de la reine Berthe et du roy Pepin, mise en prose d'une chanson de geste*, édition critique par Piotr Tylus, Textes Littéraires Français, n° 536, Droz, Genève, 2001.

² Dans cette recherche, j'ai eu recours à l'index des noms propres d'André Moisan (*Répertoire des noms propres de personnes et de lieux cités dans les chansons de geste françaises et les oeuvres étrangères dérivées*, Publications Romanes et Françaises, CLXXIII, Droz, Genève, 1986), et à celui de Louis Fernand Flutre (*Table des noms propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les romans du moyen âge écrits en français ou en provençal et actuellement publiés ou analysés*, Poitiers, 1962).

³ Jehan, *Les Merveilles de Rigomer*, roman du XIII^e siècle, publié pour la première fois d'après l'unique ms. de Chantilly, par W. Foerster et H. Breuer, Gesellschaft für roman. Liter., t. 19 et 39, Dresde, 1908-15.

- Monmatre (*Les Enfances Vivien*⁴ 3308, *La Chanson de Roland* [Venise IV]⁵ 5503);
- Monmaitre (*Les Enfances Guillaume* 268)⁶;
- Momoitre (*Ly Mireur des Histors* III 44)⁷;
- Mounmartyn (*Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin* [Provence] 5)⁸.

Le *t* de *Mont-* disparaît bien souvent, comme on voit, mais ceci n'a pas grande importance: les graphies du français médiéval se débarrassent volontiers de tant de lettres effacées dans la prononciation, qu'on a restituées dans la suite par un souci étymologique.

Ayant pris pour critère le deuxième élément de ce nom, on peut diviser ces formes en trois groupes:

- celles qui contiennent le mot de *martyr*: *Montmartir* / *Mont Martir*, *Monltmartir* ou *Montmartirer*;
- celles qui possèdent l'élément *martre* sous ses formes concurrentes: *Monmarte*, *Monmatre*, *Monmaitre*, *Momoitre*;
- celles, enfin, avec le nom propre de *Martin*, comme *Mounmartyn*.

Quant à l'origine des formes appartenant au premier groupe, il s'agit, bien évidemment, du martyr de Saint Denis, premier évêque de Paris, et de ses compagnons, vers 150. Pour ce qui est des formes *Montmartir*/*Monltmartir*, elles proviennent du lat. *mons Martyrum* (< lat. eccl. *martyr*), donc *mont des martyrs* (s. Denis et ses compagnons), et non pas *mons Martyrii* (mont du Martyre). Au Moyen Âge, on avait bien conscience de ces origines. Ainsi, on trouve dans certains textes *Mons Martyrum* (*Chronique d'Helinand* 805),⁹ *Mons Martirum* (*Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin* 105).¹⁰ D'ailleurs, le fait que le copiste de la prose de *Berthe* note aussi *Mont Martir* (avec la graphie coupée qui met en re-

⁴ *Les Enfances Vivien*, chanson de geste publiée par C. Wahlund et H. von Feilitzen, Upsala-Paris, 1895.

⁵ *La Chanson de Roland* nel testo assonanzato franco-italiano, edita e tradotta per G. Gasca Queirazza, Torino, 1955 (Oriflamma, Coll. di testi romanzati e mediolatini a cura di Francesco A. Ugolini, I).

⁶ *Les Enfances Guillaume*, chanson de geste du XIII^e siècle, publiée par P. Henry, SATF, Paris, 1935.

⁷ *Ly Mireur des Histors. Chronique de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse*, publié par A. Borgnet et S. Bormans, Bruxelles, 1869-1887; 2^e moitié du XIV^e siècle.

⁸ *Der provenzalische Turpin*, herausgegeben von O. Schultz, dans *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XIV, Halle, 1890, p. 467-520 (texte p. 478-517); 1^{ère} moitié du XIV^e siècle.

⁹ *Chronicon Helinandi, Frigidi Montis monachi*, publié dans *Patrol. Latina* de Migne, CCXII, col. 833-855; composé après 1204.

¹⁰ *Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin – Historia Caroli Magni et Rotholandi*, textes revus et publiés d'après 49 manuscrits par C. Meredith-Jones (thèse univer.), Paris, 1936; prose latine d'un auteur français composée circa 1130-40.

lief le deuxième élément) prouve que le sens profond de ce nom était pour les médiévaux bien clair.

Pour ce qui est de la forme *Montmartirer*, il faut la comprendre comme *mont du Martyre* plutôt que *mont des Martyrs*. Le dictionnaire de Tobler-Lommatzsch¹¹ ne relève pas le substantif *martirer*. Il donne seulement le verbe *martirer* < **martyrare* (t. V, p. 1216) et les formes *martiriier*, *martirier*, verbes créés à la base de *martyrium* (*ib.*, pp. 1217-1218). Par contre, Godefroy¹² cite, sous la rubrique du verbe *martyrer*, l'infinitif pris substantivement *martyrer* avec le sens de *martyre*:

«Par *martyrer* apres sa vie fina,
Car Adrian a mort le condamna.»
(Gringore, *l'Espoir de Paix*, I, 173, Bibl. elz.)¹³

En ce qui concerne la forme actuelle de *Montmartre*, qui appartient au deuxième groupe selon la classification présentée ci-dessus, la plupart des linguistes sont d'accord pour *mons Martyrum* comme étymologie.¹⁴ Certains, pourtant, préfèrent des origines bien différentes. Ainsi, dans *Le Grand Robert des noms propres*, p. ex., on propose comme étymologie «*Mons Martis* [mont de Mars] ou *Mons Mercurii* [mont de Mercure], plutôt que *Mons Martyrum*».¹⁵ Je ne sais pas sur quoi est fondée cette hypothèse. Le fait est qu'au Moyen Age cette colline est reconnue comme *Mons Martyrum* (voir les textes latins cités plus haut), et qu'on garde pieusement pendant longtemps le souvenir du martyre du premier évêque de Paris. Ainsi, nous trouvons une mention de la fontaine où fut décollé le saint dans *Hugues Capet* (2347, 2349).¹⁶ De plus, nous apprenons du *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle* que «Dagobert, en mémoire du martyre de saint Denis, avait déclaré lieu d'asile tout ce petit territoire sacrifié par le sang du célèbre patron de la France».¹⁷ Cette tradition devait être bien vivante à la fin du Moyen Age encore, paraît-il, vu que dans la prose de *Berthe*, la mauvaise Aliste fait construire un couvent à Montmartre, y trouvant un refuge, pour expier ses fautes. Comme souvenir du martyre de saint Denis et de

¹¹ Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, t. 1-10, Berlin, 1925-1976.

¹² Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, t. 1-10, Paris, 1880-1902.

¹³ Cité d'après Godefroy (t. 5, p. 189^b).

¹⁴ Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle*, t. 16, p. 516^d.

¹⁵ *Le Grand Robert des noms propres* sous la direction de Paul Robert, tome IV, Paris, 1991, p. 2160.

¹⁶ *Hugues Capet*, chanson de geste publiée pour la première fois, d'après le manuscrit unique de Paris, par le marquis de la Grange, Paris, 1864 (APF, 8); début du XIV^e siècle ou circa 1359 (voir Moisan, t. I, vol. 1, p. 51).

¹⁷ *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle*, t. 16, p. 516^d.

ses compagnons, il y avait à Montmartre une chapelle dite du Saint-Martyre, construite avant 1180, à l'endroit où se seraient déroulés ces événements. On y a découvert le tombeau présumé du saint en 1611.¹⁸ Le 15 août 1534, saint Ignace de Loyola a prononcé, dans la chapelle du Martyre, le vœu de pauvreté et de fidélité à l'Eglise.¹⁹

Comme on voit, pendant plusieurs siècles Montmartre est un endroit sacré dans la conscience des Français, et y voir des origines païennes me paraît une hypothèse outrée. Ce n'est pas mont de Mars ni celui de Mercure, mais mont de saint Denis, mont de son Martyre. Les faits linguistiques le prouvent aussi. Tobler-Lommatzsch cite la forme *martre* sous la rubrique de *martir*: «il fut enterreiz en l'oratoire del bienëurous Laurent li martre (*in beati Laurentii martyris oratorio*)». ²⁰ Voir aussi *martre* = *martyr* chez Godefroy (t. 5, p. 190^a).

La forme *Monmarte* ne désigne pas *mont de Marte*. Le deuxième *r* s'amuit pour la commodité de la prononciation et la graphie reflète ce phénomène, tout comme dans la forme *Monmatre*. Les formes *martel/matre* sont concurrentes de *martre* avec le sens de *martyr*. Cependant, ni Godefroy ni Tobler-Lommatzsch ne relèvent *martel/matre* = *martre* (*martyr*).

Pour ce qui est de la forme *Monmaitre*, il ne faut pas considérer la graphie *-ai-* comme diphtongue, mais comme désignant simplement le *e* ouvert. On trouve chez Nyrop une remarque formulée à propos de la forme *Montmartre*: «La prononciation vulgaire de *Montmartre* est *Montmerte*; voir par ex. une chanson de Bruant, où ce mot rime avec *verte*, *perte*, etc.». ²¹ Mais ce n'est pas notre cas, car dans l'exemple cité par Nyrop on a affaire au passage de AR > ER qui a lieu dans certaines formes sous l'influence de la consonne *r*. Christiane Marchello-Nizia a relevé quelques cas où riment les résultats de *e* ouvert tonique entravé, de *a* devant yod tonique, suivis de la consonne *r*, et de *a* tonique entravé suivi de *r*, comme, p. ex., notre *Montmartre* rimant avec *tertre*, mais il s'agit ici de la rime *-artre*, alors, d'un processus inverse. En même temps, Marchello-Nizia parle d'une tendance contraire, consistant à remplacer le *a* par le *e* devant le *r*, présente au XVI^e siècle, mais elle la suppose plus ancienne.²² Pourtant, les cas évoqués ci-dessus n'expliquent pas notre forme à moins que le *r* ne se soit amui après avoir exercé son influence sur le *a*.

La forme *Momoitre* pose quelques problèmes. Le *a* se serait diphtongué en [ɔj] ou peut-être s'agit-il de la prononciation [wɛ]? C'est certainement un trait

¹⁸ *Grand Larousse Universel*, Paris, 1991, t. 10, p. 7081^c.

¹⁹ *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle*, t. 16, p. 516^d.

²⁰ *Li Dialoge Gregoire lo Pape*, hrsg. von W. Foerster, Halle, 1876, 25, 1; cité d'après Tobler-Lommatzsch (t. V, p. 1211).

²¹ Kr. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, tome premier, Leipzig – New York – Paris, 1904, p. 242.

²² Christiane Marchello-Nizia, *Histoire de la langue française aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Collection Etudes, Bordas, Paris, 1979, pp. 73-74.

dialectal et il faudrait penser, à mon sens, à une caractéristique wallonne, vu que la forme a été relevée dans *Ly Mireur des Histors* de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse, auteur provenant de la région wallonne. Il se peut également que ce ne soit qu'un phénomène graphique, comme dans le cas de *ei* en ancien wallon, provenant de *a* tonique libre (*citeit* < *civitatem*): une diphtongue ou un simple digramme?²³ J'avoue n'avoir pas réussi à expliquer ce phénomène bien que j'aie mené une recherche en vue d'une explication dialectale.

Le dernier groupe, possédant comme deuxième élément le nom propre de Martin: *Mounmartyn*, trouve bien son origine dans l'histoire de la célèbre colline: «vers 1096, les religieux de Saint-Martin des Champs établirent à Montmartre un prieuré de l'ordre de Cluny.»²⁴ C'est grâce à cet événement, à l'action des religieux, que cette forme a vu le jour.

Parfois apparaît la forme *monlt* comme premier élément. Tobler-Lommatzsch cite *monlt* à la place de *mont*: «Il n'y avoit ne monlt ne val».²⁵ La présence de *l* témoigne de la confusion avec l'adverbe *moult* < *multum*.

On constate donc au Moyen Age une relative diversité de formes pour ce qui est de l'appellation de la colline de Montmartre. Elles s'expliquent toutes par des événements historiques qui s'y sont passés: la plupart d'entre elles sont à rattacher au martyre de saint Denis et de ses compagnons. Celles qui possèdent le nom propre de Martin comme deuxième élément s'expliquent par l'arrivée à Montmartre des religieux de Saint-Martin des Champs.

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²³ Les avis des linguistes sont partagés; voir Louis Remacle, *La différenciation dialectale en Belgique romane avant 1600*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1992, p. 35 et ss.

²⁴ *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle*, t. 16, p. 516^d.

²⁵ *Gace de la Buigne* 3989; cité d'après Tobler-Lommatzsch (t. VI, p. 219).

